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EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND

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A SKETCH OF THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE

IN preparing this little sketch of the history of education in Scotland, my hope has been that it may help to inspire young Scottish teachers with a keener sense of the honourableness and distinction of their calling. The glimpses of the past which it tries to furnish will, I hope, lead them to realise that they are taking part in a great national work, of long and reputable record, and so hearten them for their daily labour.

Several books are available for more serious students of our educational history, such as Grant's *Burgh Schools of Scotland*, Prof. Edgar's *History of Early Scottish Education*, Dr. Kerr's *Scottish Education*, and Mr. Strong's recent admirable *History of Secondary Education in Scotland*; but there may be room for this briefer and slighter account, intended to appeal rather to the younger members of the teaching profession.

Older readers will find in the later pages a short discussion of some of the educational questions of to-day.

W. J. G.

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INTRODUCTION

"IF we except the Athenians and Jews," says Mr. Froude, "no people so few in number have scored so deep a mark in the world's history as the Scots have done." Why this pre-eminence of a country, small, mostly barren, of harsh climate, and denied many of the natural advantages found elsewhere?

Her very difficulties of climate and soil helped her people to develop; her mountains became a nursery of independence and freedom, her glens and straths the home of a thrifty and hardy race.

A certain seriousness of outlook and tenacity of temper natural to their surroundings predisposed such a people to the things of the mind and the spirit. From early times they developed an interest in religion and a zeal for learning. Other countries may have shown a finer flower of scholarship, but in none has the attitude towards education been so democratic, so thoroughly imbued with the belief that learning is for the whole people, so socialised as to afford the spectacle of the sons of the laird, the minister, and the ploughman, seated on the same bench, taught the same lessons, and disciplined with the same strip of leather.

In no other country has there been in the past the same free path for ability, in whatever rank produced, not only through the schools, but into all the learned professions. Behind her people is a lengthy tradition of humanistic learning closely associated with religious instruction, stretching in an unbroken vista from the Magnum Monasterium of the fifth century to the existing schools of the twentieth. In no other land has there been through centuries the same continuous recognition by the State of its duty towards the education of its future citizens: four hundred years ago Scotland led the van of Europe by passing the first compulsory Education Act on record; two centuries ago it declared for a school in every parish; four decades have passed since it provided machinery for a system of compulsory education, universal in its distribution, popular in its management, and with no "elementary" restriction in its range.

To-day in our country it is almost true to say that there is no boy or girl of good natural ability, however poor or straitened in circumstances, however remote or isolated the home, who cannot break a way into the mysteries of the highest learning that the Universities supply.

By what steps has such a system of national education developed? Through what onrushes and eddies and backwaters has its stream run? What haltings

and advances and retrogressions have marked its onward progress? In what manner has the Scottish educational ideal persisted and grown and expanded with the passage of the centuries? Finally, what defects are still to be removed, what work is still to be done?

To answer such questions is the aim of this brief history of education in Scotland.

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND

I

EDUCATION UNDER THE CELTIC MONKS

THE first Scottish teacher whose name has come down to us through the mists of the early ages is Ninian. Fifteen centuries stretch between him and us; yet tradition, verified in this case by the spade of the archæologist, has preserved for us the knowledge of the scene of his pioneer labours. His white church of stone and lime, a wonder to the native dwellers in wattled hovels, was built somewhere near Whithorn. The sea cave to which he retired for meditation and prayer can still be seen on the beach near Burrow Head. The place is one that may well excite reverence, for it is the cradle alike of Scottish Christianity and of Scottish education.

Britain south of the Forth had been conquered by Rome in the first and second centuries. The world from the Euphrates to the Severn and from the Atlas Mountains to the German forests had yielded to her legions and rested secure under the wings of her eagles. The provinces were relatively well governed, and though it was always necessary to have the fron-

tiers patrolled by armed veterans, general peace and prosperity prevailed. In Britain, as in the other conquered districts, the practical Roman, having "warred down the proud," taught them the arts of peace. Towns were founded, roads were made, morasses drained, and forests cleared. Trade was extended, and so well did agriculture thrive that under the Romans Britain became one of the chief corn-producing countries of the world.

The Britons whom the Romans had vanquished and whom they were now civilising were a Celtic race. Those in the neighbourhood of the towns became Romanised. Readily taking to Roman civilisation and refinement, they soon became accustomed to the luxurious and cultured life of the conquerors. Those living outside the influence of the towns were less affected; the denizens of the mountainous regions of Wales, Cumberland, Galloway, and Northern Scotland remained outside the pale and unsubdued. From the second century the wild Picts of the north were kept off by a garrisoned rampart running across the narrow part between the Clyde and the Forth.

Meanwhile the Roman world was being leavened by the spread of Christianity. Under the fierce blast of persecution in the third century the Gospel torch only burned the brighter. Gradually throughout the Empire paganism yielded before the vital force of the new religion. Imperial Rome was conquered by the law of life laid down by the obscure Nazarene whom she had crucified. Before the next century was old,

Christianity had become the State religion, and Christendom had been brought into a unity by the adoption of a universal creed.

To the Rome of the latter part of the fourth century, with its Christianity now general, æsthetic, and fashionable, came Ninian in his search for instruction, a wanderer from his distant home by the shores of the Solway. By this time the schools of the great city were famous; their favourite study theology. Here he remained, perhaps for several years. When sufficiently trained he set out to return to his fatherland by way of Gaul. At Tours he remained for some time with St. Martin, one of the most remarkable of the Gaulish ecclesiastics, a man of high personal character and of great influence. The luxurious life of the Christians of Rome had produced a reaction in churchmen of the ascetic temperament, and those early centuries witnessed that remarkable phase of the religious life that led men to seclusion. In the East it produced hermits; in the West monks. The latter development was of a more social character, as the life of seclusion was sought for in a community of those like-minded. It is worth noticing in passing that it was through the influence of St. Martin that the monastic idea took root in Gaul, and it was from Gaul that it was transplanted into Scotland and Ireland. Ninian fell under the spell of the older man, became much attached to him, and no doubt learned much during his stay at Tours. But the time came when he set his face westward towards his Galloway home, where dwelt those to whom he hoped to carry the

Gospel. He had been born by the shores of Wigtown Bay, and thither he now returned.

It cannot be doubted that some knowledge of Christianity had already penetrated to Roman Scotland before Ninian's time. Ninian's own father, a chief of some kind, is said by Ailred to have been a Christian. The preaching of Ninian was gladly received by his countrymen, and among them he founded his notable church. He had already made provision while still in Gaul for the erection of a worthy building and had "besought from St. Martin masons" to carry out the work. With their help was erected a church of stone, the wonder of the countryside, unlike anything the Britons of those parts had ever seen. As the Romans were still in occupation of the district, it was by its Latin name of *Candida Casa*, the White House, that his church came to be known. Before the church was finished Ninian learned to his sorrow that his friend St. Martin had passed from his labours, and he "dedicated the church in his honour." This fixes the date of the erection of *Candida Casa* as A.D. 397.

It is the erection of this church at Whithorn, already the place of chief importance in the region, and the founding of the monastic establishment connected with it, that bear on the subject of early Scottish education, and that warrant our consideration of Ninian's work. The monastic system which he had seen in Gaul was adopted at Whithorn and became afterwards the general type in use in the Celtic church. The nature of the system itself and of the education which it provided will be best seen when we come to

consider the character of the monastery established by Columba in Iona. Of Ninian's mission to the southern Picts it is necessary only to say that it was successful; the Picts listened readily to his preaching, abandoned their old religion, and embraced Christianity. Churches were founded and presbyters (that is, priests) appointed. Doubtless also monastic institutions, on the model of the parent establishment at Whithorn, were established among them, and became centres for the diffusion of learning and civilisation. It was probably on this missionary journey that Ninian consecrated the burying-ground on the banks of the Molendinar Burn. It was on this site that Kentigern afterwards founded the church which was to become the nucleus of the city of Glasgow.

At or before the time when St. Martin's masons were erecting Candida Casa there was born at Nemthur, somewhere near Dumbarton, one who was to do much for Celtic Britain—Succat or Patricius. It is unnecessary to consider his career here, even in outline, except as regards the one point of the place where he got his training. One account sends him to Gaul to St. Martin. But Martin was probably dead years before. According to another account, the one accepted by the Roman Catholic Church, he received his training in Rome itself. Neither seems the most natural course for him to have followed. On Solway side, near the home of his kindred, was the monastery that Ninian had founded, well known by that time all over the district. Within a hundred years after its foundation it is known that it had developed into the

Magnum Monasterium, and had become an important centre of religious and secular learning, at which many of the early Irish saints received their training.¹ What more natural than that the first of them, Patricius, brought up in the district and therefore familiar with the work of Candida Casa, should in the earlier years of the monastery have gone there for his preliminary training?

His forty-four years' work in Ireland and its results are well known. The churches he founded were soon known all over Christendom for their piety, their learning, and their missionary zeal. Scotland's interest in Patricius lies in the fact that the Dalriad Scots who came over to Argyll brought with them Christianity, and that the Irish church of Patricius gave to Scotland Columba, the great missionary of the northern Picts. It was in 563 that Columba, accompanied by twelve disciples, settled in the island of Hy (or Iona, as it is now mistakenly called). The choice of this island as the head-quarters of his mission settlement was probably determined by its geographical position. The Dalriad Scots, who had crossed over from Ulster and were ruled by a kinsman of his own, possessed Cantyre and Argyll. North of them lay the Picts, who were at this time pressing the Scots so hard that it almost seemed as if they must yield their footing in Scotland. Hy lay close to the common boundary between the two kingdoms, and its being an island, and a small one at that, separated from Mull by a sound only a mile wide, made it a most suitable position for Columba's pur-

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 46 *et seq.*

pose. The gift of the island granted him by the King of the Scots was later confirmed by the King of the Picts also. With the two opposing kings both favourable to his occupation his tenure was secure. The monastery of Iona is of great interest as giving us our first clear view of the everyday life of the Celtic monk. It is true that Adamnan in writing his life of Columba devotes attention rather to the saint's miracles than to a description of the training afforded by the monastery; but his incidental references when pieced together supply a good deal of valuable information.

The members of the little secluded community built their own huts and tiny wattled church, and for protection surrounded them with an earthen rampart. All took part in the regular religious exercises of the brotherhood. Candidates for membership were admitted only after probation. Notorious sinners were prevented from landing at all on the island. Alms were distributed to the poor and medical aid given to those in suffering. The monks tilled the ground for their own support, and engaged in such other forms of labour on sea and land as were required by the simple wants of the community. The preparation of food and other forms of domestic service fell to some of the brethren. Their food was simple—barley-bread, milk, eggs, fish, and perhaps also seal's flesh. On occasion these were probably supplemented with mutton and beef. On Wednesdays and Fridays a fast was observed until the evening. The monks wore garments of undyed wool, and on a journey protected their feet

with sandals. They slept on pallets in their cells, and might even during the night be called together on an unusual occasion for prayers. They were summoned to the church by the sound of a bell. Within the monastery enclosure were also the refectory, the kitchen, and the lodging-places of the monks, which were probably huts made of wattles. The abbot's, a larger one with joists, was at some distance from the others. A carpenter's shop and a smithy were a necessity of such a community. Iona was probably treeless then as now, and timber had to be brought from the mainland. The barn, the kiln, and the mill were outside the monastery enclosure, the last being on a neighbouring stream, by the water of which the stones were driven in the primitive method that still persists in one or two of the remotest islands of the Hebrides. The byre must have been at some distance from the monastery, for the milk was carried thither by a horse.

Besides attending church services and carrying on the various forms of labour indicated, the monks spent part of their day in reading—chiefly the Scriptures—and in committing portions, such as the book of Psalms, to memory. Writing also received a share of their attention, and by their labours as transcribers the various churches connected with the monastery were supplied with service books. Much time and skill and loving care were devoted by the Celtic monks to the artistic embellishment of manuscripts. Some of those still in existence, dating from the seventh century, are masterpieces that show what a labour of love the work must have been to the scribes engaged in it.

The peculiar system of decorative tracery that is the special line along which Celtic art evolved had reached even at this time a high stage of development.

A special feature of Hy was its hospitality. Visitors were frequent and received a true Celtic welcome. If expected, the brethren went to the beach to meet them. They conducted them to the church, where thanksgiving was offered for their safe arrival. Food was set before them and a lodging prepared for them. It is evidence of the kind-hearted absence of narrowness of religious view that out of courtesy to guests arriving on a day of fasting the monks broke their fast. Nor did hospitality stop short with human visitors; even the birds and beasts had a share.¹

From a study of the Iona community, we get a fairly clear idea of the education that was available in the monasteries. All the brethren were taught the Scriptures and all learned to use their hands industriously for the general good. For some this meant work in the harvest-field, the dairy, or the kitchen; for others to whom the crafts came easily, building, carpentering, or smith-work. Those with special aptitudes were taught what was known of the healing power of herbs and the simple surgery then in use, or they learned the honoured art of the scribe who wrote and illuminated those wonderful manuscripts that are still a source of artistic delight. Nor was their learning only religious. Columba himself was a bard and a patron of the bards. The

¹ See Adamnan's beautiful little story of the crane that had strayed to Iona from Ireland.

best of his disciples added to their knowledge of church Latin some acquaintance with classical literature.

As to the kind of men produced by the training of the Celtic monasteries we have ample indications. Columba himself is described by Adamnan as "*aspectu angelicus, sermone nitidus, opere sanctus, ingenio optimus.*" His finely modulated and powerful voice is also commented upon. His diligence was remarkable ; there was never an hour of his day that was not taken up with prayer, study, writing, or other useful occupation. Of his affectionate disposition, close attachment to his personal friends, his kindness, compassion, and generosity, many instances are recorded. We can well believe that these were among the characteristics that were most regarded among the simple Celtic monks, combined with a simple soldier-like strictness of obedience to their abbot's commands and an energy and zeal for the preaching of the Gospel that no difficulties or dangers could daunt. Wild beast and savage man were alike unable to cool their ardour. At a word from their abbot they would start off, without murmur or delay, on the longest journey or the most trying voyage. Their labours of evangelisation were most successful. Churches were established and communities founded in the remotest islands of the Hebrides and the Orcades. Their missions reached to Gaul, even to Italy itself.

Of special interest from the point of view of education and learning was Aidan's mission to Northumbria. It is a historical fact infrequently dwelt upon that the

efforts of Columban missionaries led to the Christianisation, not only of Northumbria, but of the middle of England even as far south as London; and the susceptibility for culture and delight in learning, which were a feature of the Celtic monks, were transmitted to their Northumbrian converts. It must not be forgotten that Hild's monastery of Streonshalh, which produced the first English poet on English soil, was of Celtic foundation, and that Caedmon himself, from his name, was probably of Celtic descent. "It is the personal relation of the soul to God the Father, the humanity of Christ, the brotherhood of man, the fellowship of saints, that the Celtic missionaries seem to have preached to their converts; and these doctrines inspired the choicest passages of Old English religious poetry, passages worthy of comparison with some of the best work of a later, more self-conscious and introspective age."¹

It is interesting to reflect that this literary influence was carried to the court and kingdom of Charles the Great by the Englishman Alcuin on the eve of the troublous times when incursions of the barbarous Danes destroyed alike the Northumbrian monasteries and Northumbrian learning. Though the direct influence of the school of Alcuin cannot be traced, there is little doubt that indirectly his educational work prepared the ground for that seed of Greek philosophy, sown in Spain by Arabian scholars, which became in

¹ M. Bentineck Smith in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. I, chap. iv. This aspect of the subject is also ably dealt with by Mr. Stopford A. Brooke in the first chapter of his *English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*.

the twelfth century a plant of sturdy growth and bore as fruit the universities of Europe.

The educational influence of the Celtic monastic system continued to be very marked in Scottish education even well down into the Middle Ages, but this will be considered later.

While there can be no question that the monasteries were the main means of diffusing religious learning, there was among the Celts one other agency that made for culture—the schools of the bards. The office of bard was held in high respect. It was hereditary, and the heroic lays and more or less mythical genealogies of the clan were handed on from father to son. Careful attention was given to the training of the young aspirant, and the bardic guilds or schools had considerable power and influence. To the general body of the clan, as well as more immediately to the members of the chief's family, there must have been great benefit in having among them these professional rehearsers of old lays and makers of new songs. They helped to keep alive among all classes an interest in music and in poetry, in something beyond the mere necessities of the daily life and the mere adventurous pleasure of raiding and fighting. In the Highlands of Scotland, as in Ireland, the bardic tradition long survived. Even at the present day in some of the remoter districts there are still found belated representatives of the ancient art who throughout their own region have a fame as makers of Gaelic verse.

Another kind of learning that among the Celts was passed on in hereditary succession was the lore of the healing art. From very early times there were families who devoted themselves to medicine; the Macbeaths, for example, were for some centuries hereditary physicians to the Lords of the Isles and the Kings of Scotland.¹ From comparatively early times this Celtic medical lore was wonderfully advanced, not only in a knowledge of native simples, but also in acquaintance with the European literature of the subject. This continued to be the case through several centuries. Martin, in his visit to the Western Isles towards the end of the seventeenth century, found that Fergus Beaton, one of these hereditary mediciners, had in his possession "ancient Irish manuscripts in the Irish character" of the more important works of the most notable writers on medicine.²

In the ancient Irish laws one gets glimpses of the training in the everyday arts of life that must have taken up most of the time and energy of the young. Boys of lowly estate learned to herd lambs, calves, kids, and young pigs; they also became skilled in kiln-drying, combing, and wood-cutting. Girls learned to use the quern, the kneading-trough, and the sieve. The sons of chieftains were taught horsemanship, swimming, archery, and chess-playing, and the daughters sewing, cutting-out, and embroidery.³

¹ An account of this remarkable family is given in Dr. H. Cameron Gillies' Introduction to *Regimen Sanitatis*, a Gaelic medical manuscript of the early sixteenth century.

² Martin Martin, *A Visit to the Western Islands of Scotland*.

³ *Senchus Mor*: the laws relating to fosterage.

To complete our picture of the daily life of the old Celtic world we must add the acquirement of these arts to the moral and religious instruction that the young received from the monks, and the glamour of heroic deeds and glory of clan-heroes that came to them through the song of the bards and the melody of harp-strings.

II

THE MIDDLE AGES

THE decay of the Celtic monastic system need not be traced in detail. The Roman method of the tonsure and the dating of Easter were adopted in Pictland early in the eighth century.¹ This was followed by the expulsion of such of the Columban monks as were unwilling to conform. The monastic institutions, with their lands and privileges, seem to have passed in many cases into the hands of laymen. It is the same process as Bede complains of in Northumbria: "Though they are themselves laics and neither habituated to nor actuated by the love of a regular life, yet, by pecuniary payments to the kings, and under pretext of founding monasteries, they purchase for themselves territories in which they may have freer scope."²

In the circumstances of such a transition period it was natural that the cause of secular and religious learning should suffer. Some time must have elapsed before the new ecclesiastical establishments under the secular clergy could become the centres of culture

¹ "The coronal tonsure is received by the community of Hi." A.D. 714. *Chronicum Scotorum*.

² *Baedae epistola ad Ecgberetum*, cited by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 269.

which the Columban monasteries had undoubtedly been.

Another cause of the decay of the old social monastic life was the widespread desire among the ecclesiastics of the time for the solitary life of the anchorite in preference to the cœnobitical life of the monk. The man who turns hermit is no longer an educational asset for the community.

Still another serious blow was dealt to the Celtic monasteries by the incursions of the heathen Norsemen. In the last decade of the eighth century these warriors from "over the weltering waters" harried the western islands with fire and sword; "vastatio omnium insularum Britanniae a gentibus" is the Irish annalist's terse description of their raid. It was natural that the marauders should be attracted by the easily won spoils of the richer monasteries. Iona itself was sacked on several occasions, and the unresisting monks butchered by the northern barbarians.

When it is remembered that every monastery so raided involved the permanent or temporary destruction of a centre of educational effort the evil effects on the country are readily understood. The heathen marauders not only hated the Christian religion; they despised the monkish learning. "No scholars, no clerics, no books, no holy relics were left in church or monastery through dread of them. Neither bard, nor philosopher, nor musician pursued his wonted profession in the land."¹

Soon the flying raids of the Northmen became per-

¹ Keating, cited by Maclean, *The Literature of the Celts*, p. 101.

manent settlements. To these came many accessions of hard-handed and high-willed Vikings anxious to escape from the firm rule of Harald Harfagr after his great naval victory in Hafurs Fjord in 875. In time most of the west coast, with Sutherland, Caithness, and the Orkneys and Shetlands, became part of the Norwegian realm.

Immediately prior to the union of the Picts and Scots, brought about by the accession of Kenneth Macalpine, the country was divided into five distinct and hostile kingdoms. The Picts occupied what is now the main portion of the Highlands, the Scots Dalriada, the Angles the Lothians of the south-east, the Brythons the kingdom of Strathclyde in the south-west, and the Norsemen the northern peninsula and the northern and western islands.

It seems likely that Kenneth's favour brought about some restoration of the Columban church in Pictland. At any rate there is no doubt that the influence of the Celtic tradition was felt for centuries after the transfer of the centre of religious thought from Iona to Dunkeld. For the Scottish church, as it came gradually into line with continental usage, would retain a memory of the old ideal of learning and culture that had been set up by the Columban monasteries.

In 908 a meeting was held at Scone, at which King Constantine and Cellach, first Bishop of St. Andrews, bound themselves "to protect the laws and discipline of the faith and the rights of the churches and of the Gospel." This is supposed to mark the organisation

of the church of Alban under the government of one bishop. One little hint of the instruction given at the time to the youth comes to us from the life of St. Cadroë. He crossed from Armagh (*circa* 920), and "scattered seeds of wisdom throughout the whole of Scotland. . . . He here trained them in the knowledge of the arts, whence, because he instructed many with his lips, he had no associates. The old man rejoiced to possess the youth, and had not his equal in anything which he tried."¹ In the middle of the tenth century we find pilgrims from Ireland² visiting St. Andrews, to which the primacy seems to have been transferred about the beginning of the century.

The process of the secularisation of the monasteries that was now going on is illustrated by the history of that of Dunkeld. A number of its abbots were obviously laymen in possession of the wide district which had formerly belonged to the monastery: several of them are slain in battle; in the eleventh century one of them marries the King's daughter. It was, of course, to be expected that abbots who were churchmen would have received an education in the monastery, but these laymen also from their close connection with the monastery would be men of more or less education. It is specially recorded of certain Irish lay abbots of this period that they were literates. Malcolm Canmore's son, Ethelred, while still a boy, was lay abbot of Dunkeld. It is in connection with a gift of land from him to the Culdees

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 325.

² *Chronicum Scotorum*, p. 217, A.D. 963: "Aedh, son of Mael-mithidh, dies in pilgrimage, viz. at Cinn-rimonaigh [St. Andrews]."

of Lochleven that an interesting educational reference is made; one of the witnesses to the gift is Berbeadh, rector of the schools of Abernethy.¹ This furnishes direct evidence of the schools in connection with ecclesiastical establishments which may be safely postulated as having been in existence throughout the whole period; it is also an indication of the dignity of the rectorial office that Berbeadh is on this occasion associated with such witnesses as Constantin, Earl of Fife.

The influence of Queen Margaret was felt not only in the court and social life of the subjects of Malcolm Canmore, but in a marked degree in ecclesiastical affairs. Her piety and devotion to the form of church worship with which she was familiar were shocked to observe the differences in ceremonial and observance that existed between the native church and that of Rome. She did her best to have the peculiarities of the old Celtic church, as regarded the duration of certain feasts, the method of celebrating mass, and the manner of observing the Lord's Day, brought into harmony with the practice of the continental church. The movement thus set on foot was greatly accelerated during the reign of her son Alexander. The old tribal organisation of the Celtic church was replaced by one on a territorial basis, Alexander's dominions being divided into three dioceses—St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Moray. Earl David in the same way reconstituted the diocese of Glasgow. Both took steps to introduce the Roman orders of monks. Alexander

¹ Grant, *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, p. 3.

established a priory of the Augustinians at Scone, and David a Benedictine monastery at Selkirk. In 1203 a Benedictine monastery and nunnery were founded by the Lord of the Isles in Iona; and in 1219 the Earl of Buchan founded a Cistercian monastery at Deer which may have taken the place of the ancient Celtic monastery which had so long survived there. This may be regarded as the end of the old Celtic church.

In the twelfth century, in connection with the lands belonging to abbeys and convents, there are various references to schools and "their pertinents," belonging to, or transferred to, these abbeys. It is clear that the abbeys of the new orders had fallen heir to the close relation with education that had marked the Celtic monasteries. The abbot and canons of Dryburgh are confirmed in their possessions by Pope Lucius, and it is forbidden that anyone should interfere with the masters in the parish of Lanark in regulating the studies of their schools.¹

Similar grants to the schools, and references to their rectors, occur throughout the thirteenth century. Schools in connection with churches and abbeys are taken for granted in the casual notices that are found. The inference is that such arrangements for the instruction of the young were usual.

The first educational duty of the monastery was to provide for the instruction of those who were to become monks. This duty would be undertaken by such of the brethren as were learned and had shown special gifts as instructors. Doubtless the abbot was

¹ *Liber de Dryburgh*, cited by Grant, p. 5.

in most cases a man who to business ability and organising power added scholarship. He was often a man of affairs whose training had been partly obtained on the Continent. For the novices certain hours of the day would be told off for instruction, and for most of them this would confine itself to the Scriptures and the church services, but those showing special intellectual aptitude, or the special skill of hand required from the scribe, would be duly regarded, for such gifts were valuable to the monastery possessing them. Considerable attention would also be given to the training of those who had musical endowments that could be devoted to the use of the church. Doubtless many of the less apt would do little more than get up by rote the Latin versions of the prayers and Psalms needed in the ordinary religious services. But the better pupils would acquire a knowledge of the Latin tongue through a study of the grammar of Donatus, a work which seems to have held a place of high importance as a text-book in the schools of the Middle Ages. Everyone with any pretence to scholarship had to be able to use Latin, the universal language of educated Europe and the ordinary medium through which instruction was conveyed. In the scarcity of copies of text-books, much of the matter of the texts, as well as the teacher's comments, must have been taken down from the lecturer's dictation. The Scottish Universities still retain quaint survivals of this old custom.

Little material remains from which to discover the nature of the instruction or the range of reading.

Those boys who were intended for the monastic life would be under the rigorous monastic discipline, but some portion of the instruction provided would be available also for those who intended to enter the priesthood, and for laymen. As far as literary training was concerned, the teaching of reading, with instruction in the Scriptures, and singing, would take the first place, to be followed, for such as might profit, by the elements of the writing art, and by some modicum of arithmetic to be used mainly in connection with the computation of the dates in the church calendar. Next would follow the well-known trivium of the curriculum of the Middle Ages, viz. grammar, logic, and rhetoric. The larger monastery and cathedral schools would in addition give instruction in civil and canon law, in mathematics and astronomy, and in philosophy and theology. But the catalogue of the books constituting the priory library at Lochleven in the middle of the twelfth century gives little indication of such studies; it is made up of portions of the Bible, church service books, and some works on theology.

Besides the provision of instruction for those who proposed entering on the monastic life, the greater monasteries would naturally be expected to provide for the wants of those who were to become secular clergy. While provision was made in outlying regions that the district churches should undertake educational work, it is proper to believe that the wealthy abbeys, to which the churches and schools alike belonged, usually undertook the preparation of the future clerics.

On the question of whether instruction was given in those early times to lay pupils little evidence exists, but what there is points in the direction of such provision having been, in many cases, made. Such instruction was certainly contemplated in the educational system which Alcuin set up in Frankland, and it does not seem likely that the native monasteries which produced scholars of the type of Alcuin would be behind the Continent in their desire to instruct the mass of the people. Towards the end of the eighth century, Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, had addressed to his priests instructions of an unusually modern kind: "Presbyteri per villas et vicos scholas habeant et si quilibet fidelium suos parvulos ad discendas literas eis commendare vult, eos suscipere ac docere non renuant, sed cum summa caritate eos doceant. . . . Cum ergo eos docent, nihil ab eis pretii pro hac re exigant, excepto quod eis parentes caritatis studio sua voluntate obtulerint."¹ We may believe that in Scotland also the natural desire of the church to instruct both priest and layman in a knowledge of the Scriptures, the Creed, and the prayers, would be strong enough to keep its servants from placing any obstacles in the way of parents who, themselves faithful servants of the church, desired their children to receive such learning.

In the middle of the thirteenth century a lady hands over her dowry to the monastery of Kelso in return for an undertaking on the part of the abbot

¹ Migne—*Patrologia Latina*, CV, cited by West—*Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, p. 55.

that her son will be boarded "with the worthier and better scholars of the house."¹ In another case in the fourteenth century the State Treasurer pays by the King's command a considerable sum of money for the board and the clothing of a "poor scholar kinsman of our lord the King." Various gifts of a similar nature are recorded.

The general tendency indeed, as has been said, would be to make the religious and secular instruction, provided primarily for monks and clerics, available also for lay youths whose parents wished them to take advantage of it. It seems likely that the non-education in the Middle Ages of the masses of the people and of the gentry has been greatly exaggerated. Far too much has been made of

"Thanks to St. Bothan, son of mine,
Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line."

It is clear that the demand for copies of favourite books could only co-exist with a fairly widespread power of reading them. The appeal of Scottish writers, both in Latin and in the vernacular, was to a wider audience than the popular conception of mediæval ignorance would allow. The power to read was limited neither to clerics nor to the male sex. The Chevalier Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, writing in the latter part of the fourteenth century, probably expresses the ordinary enlightened view of his own time when he writes: "And by cause somme folk sayen that they wold not that theyr wyves ne also theyr

¹ Grant, p. 12.

doughters wylst any thyng of clergie ne of wrytyng, therfor I say, answeyng to them, that as for wrytyng, it is no force yf a woman can nought of it; but as for redyng, I say that good and prouffitable is it to al wymen."¹ Chaucer's description of his fourteenth-century Canterbury pilgrims does not leave on the mind the impression of an uneducated people; and it furnishes us for all time with a worthy type of the student who loves learning for its own sake:

"For him was lever have at his beddes heed
Twenty bokes, clad in blak or reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophye,
Than robes riche, or fithele, or gay sautrye.

"But al that he myghte of his freendes hente,
On bokes and on lerninge he it spente,
And bisily gan for the soules preye
Of hem that yaf him wher-with to scoleye."

"And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche."²

The national desire in Scotland in the fifteenth century for higher schools of learning, and the outburst of enthusiasm with which the foundation of the three Universities was received, did not come from an uneducated people or one devoid of the love of learning.

The provision for the secular and religious instruction of the Scottish people that is found in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may be here summed

¹ *The Booke of Thenseygnements and Tychyng that the Knyght of the Towre made to his Doughters*, by the Chevalier Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, 1371; Caxton's Translation, 1484.

² Chaucer, *The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, v. 263 et seq.

up. (1) Each monastery was an educational centre where, under the authority of the abbot, one or more learned monks gave, in addition to training in religion and in the music required for the church services, instruction in certain of the Latin classics, in logic, and, doubtless to selected pupils, in canon and civil law. (2) To each cathedral was attached a school or schools which provided similar instruction, the appointment of the rector of the schools vesting in the chancellor, whose duty it was to see that the master knew "how to teach the boys in grammar as well as in logic."¹ The masters appointed would as a rule be churchmen. (3) In the collegiate churches, which were founded between 1350 and the Reformation, the same close connection with education was maintained. Schools were attached to them for the instruction of the youth in grammar and church music, and in some cases at least a special endowment was provided for the upkeep of the school. (4) In districts removed from such centres of educational activity as those described, some instruction was provided by the clergy of the parish churches. Sometimes the church itself was used as a schoolhouse.² It is likely that the instruction was of an elementary kind, but it would certainly provide what was necessary for the

¹ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, 1256, cited by Grant, p. 18.

² An allusion to this practice of keeping school in the church as a usual one (*more nunc solito*) is contained in the oft-quoted story from Reginald of Durham of the lad of Norham who attempted to escape at once punishment for idleness and any further continuance of the slavery of learning by locking the church door and flinging the key into a pool in the river. Boys are wonderfully alike throughout the ages.

carrying on of the church services, including music. The latter was undoubtedly often a special feature of the instruction, and the "sang schule" remained an institution in rural Scotland down to living memory. The sang schools prior to the Reformation seem to have confined their instruction to "music, manners, and virtue."

The contract entered into by the master of the sang school of Aberdeen at the close of the fifteenth century may be taken as illustrative. He "obliges himself by the faith of his body, all the days of his life, to remain with the community of the burgh, singing, keeping, and upholding mass, matins, even-songs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphonies, and hymns in the parish kirk on festival and feral days, for a salary of 24 merks Scots annually. The town council further appoints him master of their sang school to instruct burgesses' sons in singing and playing on the organs, for the upholding of God's service in the choir, they paying him his scolage and dues."¹

Reference has already been made to the scanty indications of the material of instruction in the abbey and cathedral schools. In the period now dealt with the evidence is clearer. The library of the cathedral of Glasgow in the early part of the fifteenth century contained 165 books, consisting of various service books, texts on canon and civil law, books of theology and philosophy, and a few of the Latin classics, including such authors as Ovid, Sallust,

¹ Grant, p. 66. 1 merk = 1s. 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ d.

and Seneca. The list also includes a Latin dictionary, "valde preciosum," but no work by a Greek writer appears. To the same period belongs the list of authors on whom Ferrerius lectured, publicly or privately, to his students in the abbey of Kinloss. In it are included several of the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, and Terence, together with treatises on theology, logic, grammar, rhetoric, and mathematics.

Mention has already been made of the high status that belonged to the rector of the schools. Additional illustrations of the dignity of the office are furnished by the records of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Of three arbitrators chosen by the Pope to decide a dispute concerning lands claimed by the abbey of Paisley, two are the deans of Carrick and Cunningham, the third is the master of the schools of Ayr. A similar arbitration for the abbey of Kelso is taken part in by the rector of the schools of South Berwick. When the Three Estates of the Realm gave, in the middle of the fourteenth century, an undertaking to pay to England the ransom for David II, one of the representative burgesses is the rector of the school of Cupar.¹

The instruction given in the abbeys was not confined to what we may call literary learning. A considerable part of the time of the monks was spent in manual labour of a useful sort; so that, as was the case in the Columban monasteries, a considerable

¹ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, I, 515-18, cited by Grant, p. 11.

variety of technical instruction was provided. This was connected in the first instance with the tillage of the soil, but associated with this were the crafts of the carpenter and the smith, and of necessity, for the comfort of the community, those of the tailor and leather-worker.

Nor was art neglected. The painter's brush and the mason's chisel were alike pressed into the service of the church. The troops of masons who, with the piety of good churchmen and the conscientiousness of faithful craftsmen, erected all over Scotland the abbeys and churches which mark the period under review must have done much to cultivate the artistic taste of the general mass of the people. No one who visits the remains of our Scottish churches, beautiful even in ruins, can doubt the educative influence of the erection of such buildings on the people for whose use they were designed. And we have to add to the lesson of the beautiful fabrics in which the people met for worship the civilising effect of an orderly service, and the mellowing influence of the vocal and instrumental music in which the church, as we have seen, took pains to train her people.

It is clear that these so-called barren centuries were rich in educative influences. The people's fight for freedom—and it was theirs and not that of the nobles—cannot have failed to raise the nation's ideal and to provide the people with a wider outlook. Sacrifice in the pursuit of national duty always bears fruit in the development of national character. The close contact with France, involving as it did the service

of so many Scottish men-at-arms and soldiers of fortune in continental armies, and the residence of the more intellectually inclined Scots for long periods at continental Universities, must also have widened the mental horizon and brought some national advance towards a higher degree of culture and civilisation. If proof be needed, compare the literary activity of the Scotland of the fifteenth century with the sluggishness of the England that was wearing itself out in the Wars of the Roses. One cannot read Dunbar's list of the Makkars without realising that such literary productiveness as is there indicated argues a widespread literary appreciativeness on the part of the people for whose reading it was intended.

The democratic nature of Scottish education, the desire to make scholastic instruction available for all who show intellectual ability whatever the grade of society from which they have sprung, has its roots very deep in the past. It was a part of the strength of both Celtic and Roman church that the ecclesiastical life afforded an open avenue to distinction for the child of the poorest, if he showed conspicuous ability. The gown of the monk and of the priest cloaked all social distinctions. The church offered freely a career of unlimited possibilities to the boy of high mental endowment and studious habits. It is true that the educational training of the Middle Ages, limited chiefly as it was to the mechanical reasoning and verbal dexterity of the formal syllogism, was of a somewhat barren character as far as the production of the finest fruits of thought was concerned, and that the Christianity

of the Middle Ages, with the Aristotelianism which it had absorbed, tended to round off human knowledge too completely, and to subordinate too thoroughly all other forms of it to the theological; yet these features were tempered in the Scottish monastery by the practical bent that was needed for the carrying on of the worldly business of a great abbey, and, in the case of the secular clergy, by constant contact with men and their human needs. In saying this one is not forgetting the abuses of the church and the unworthiness of many of its servants that led in the fourteenth century to the propagation of Lollardism, a movement in which Scotland shared,¹ and in the sixteenth to the Reformation. But if the fourteenth century produced ecclesiastics of the type of Chaucer's worldly Monk, dissolute Summoner, and lying Pardoner, it also brought forth priests like his Parson and peasants like his Plowman; nor has the literature of any age of our history finer types than these to offer.

The vigorous criticism of church abuses, and the free handling of the defects of worldly churchmen by English and Scottish poets, are themselves a proof that neither society nor the church had lost, among its rank and file, the moral standard which alone could cause such criticism to be tolerated.

Already the strivings of the new spirit of inquiry and criticism that produced the Revival of Learning were beginning. The desire in Scotland for higher

¹ A. Lang, *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, p. 365.

schools of learning, and the leading part taken by the Universities at a later stage in the great religious upheaval, were indications that Scotland was ready to share in the great movement which caused European thought to seek with backward glance fresh inspiration from the poets, sculptors, and philosophers of Greece; whilst at the same time it strove, with forward effort, towards that "moral freedom which implies individual insight and conviction."¹ Pagan Renaissance and Reformation Puritanism were both stirring in the gloom. The love of beauty and the zeal for righteousness were both claiming men. But the heritage of Hellenism that lay open to the Scot of the sixteenth century was soon obscured by the legacy of Hebraism that also awaited him. The Greek artist's message of beauty was less prized by him than the Hebrew prophet's call to righteousness. How this came about, and its effect on the educational aims and efforts of the country, fall to be considered later.

The most striking feature of Scottish education in the fifteenth century was the rise, already alluded to, of the Universities.

The cathedral school of Notre Dame developed in the twelfth century into the University of Paris. The teaching of the young churchman whom Dr. Sandys has characterised as "the eloquent, brilliant, vain, impulsive, and self-confident disputant, Abelard,"²

¹ Thomas Davidson, *The Education of the Greek People*, p. 222.

² *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. I, p. 183.

had drawn to Paris many students and masters, and so prepared the way for the foundation of the University. Thither during the next three centuries went such of the Scottish youth as desired to carry on their studies. But their passage to France had to be made in face of such risks as that which threw young James the First a prisoner into the hands of the English. In the fourteenth century the founding of the Scots College in Paris is evidence of the steady stream of Scottish students that flowed thither. Nor were the scholars of Scotland wanting in distinction in foreign lands. We find Scotsmen as professors of mathematics, of philosophy, of theology and of law, in various Universities—Cambridge, Oxford, Paris, Louvain, Leipsic, Copenhagen; not infrequently we find foreign Universities with Scotsmen as their rectors.¹ In later times such Scots as Andrew Melville and George Buchanan had a European reputation as being among the first scholars of their time. Many found their way to the two English Universities, spite of rivalries, national and ecclesiastical. The inconvenience of having to pass from the realm of Scotland, and the growing demand for higher education, led Bishop Wardlaw, of St. Andrews, to seek from Benedict III a bull of foundation for a Studium Generale, so that those “desirous of being instructed in theology, in canon and civil law, medicine, and the liberal arts” might no longer have to face the “dangers by sea and land, the wars, captivities and obstructions, in passing to and from foreign universities.” The

¹ Edgar, *History of Early Scottish Education*, p. 138 *et seq.*

bull was granted, and its reception was made the occasion of great rejoicing on the part of the people of St. Andrews, both clerics and burghers. In this way Scotland secured its first University, a place of learning with the power of conferring on its alumni rights and privileges that would be recognised by every other European Studium Generale; for all owned a common head, the Pope, and wrote and spoke a common tongue, Latin.

The new University started on its career but ill-provided with the world's goods; it had neither endowment nor a local habitation. A tenement, the gift of a kindly donor, was later provided for the masters and regents. Although similar donations came from other friends, the fees of the students formed the main support of the teachers. The students either belonged to the town or lodged there. On the return from England of King James the University was shown much royal favour. Among other privileges its members were exempted from all kinds of taxes. Within rather more than a century three colleges were founded. One of these, St. Leonard's, received the property of the hospital which had for long existed for the benefit of pilgrims visiting St. Andrew's shrine. It had special provision in its statutes for the admission of "children of the nobility and others who wish to acquire knowledge."¹ But such were not to have fashionable clothes, nor bright-coloured caps, nor wear their hair long. A rigid monastic rule of life was closely associated in these colleges with the pursuance

¹ Dr. Kerr, *Scottish Education*, p. 47.

of University studies. Specific regulations were laid down as to hours for the reading of the Scriptures, and the amount of food and drink to be allowed.

In 1450 Pope Nicholas V issued a bull to found in Glasgow a "*Studium Generale . . . tam in theologia ac jure canonico et civili, quam in artibus, et quavis alia licita facultate.*" The petition from James II and Bishop Turnbull mentioned among the advantages of Glasgow as a centre for the higher learning that the climate was salubrious and provisions abundant. The Bishop of Glasgow was appointed Chancellor, and in this case again the King exempted the members from taxation. There were masters, doctors, and students, but, as in the case of St. Andrews, no property, except a University purse, which, it may be believed, was somewhat light. Through the kindness of Sir Gavin Hamilton they soon became possessed of a tenement in the High Street and four acres of land, and this remained the site of the University for four hundred years.

The bull under which the University of Aberdeen was established was granted to James IV and Bishop Elphinstone by Pope Alexander VI in 1494. In the King's petition for this grant the geographical disabilities of the Highland districts of his dominion are dwelt on, their remoteness from seats of learning, and the difficulty of providing for them religious ordinances; and it is urged that if a University were established in the city of Aberdeen, "very many men, as well as ecclesiastics and laymen, would readily apply themselves to such study of letters, and acquire that most

precious pearl of knowledge.”¹ Of particular interest is this early expression of a deliberate intention to provide the higher learning for laymen. Another noteworthy feature is the inclusion of medicine as one of the subjects to be taught. Elphinstone, having benefited by his experience as Rector of Glasgow University, was able to arrange that Aberdeen should begin its work with a sufficient endowment for the payment of the salaries of its teachers. As a result Aberdeen University started under more favourable auspices than her two older sisters. It was fortunate also in its early officials; and for a time its teachers and students were zealous and its progress rapid.

By the end of the fifteenth century, then, the time at which we have now arrived, Scotland was comparatively well equipped educationally. The schools were widely distributed, and although managed by the church in the first instance for the instruction of its own sons, we have seen that the likelihood is that the benefits of education were not denied to the laity. All classes of society also were interested in the work, from the King downwards. From the earliest times, also, the respect for the rights of the poor which has always been a feature of the Scottish people² was seen in the educational arrangements.

¹ *Nat. MSS. of Scotland*, cited by Grant, p. 17.

² A good illustration of this is found in the story of the poor woman of Musselburgh who, injured by the Earl of Carrick, one of the royal princes, received in compensation ten bolls of meal. *History of Scotland*, A. Lang, Vol. I, p. 179, quoted from the Exchequer Rolls. Another is that of the two poor women whom James IV compensated because his horse had trodden down their corn. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

In the burghs great interest was shown in the welfare of the grammar schools. In some cases the town councils were already claiming a voice in the appointment of the masters, and were suppressing any adventure schools that, by offering more than the rudiments, threatened to interfere with the educational monopoly of the authorised institutions. The schools enjoyed a share of the church revenues, but their fabrics in many cases were erected and kept in repair by the town councils. Besides this interest in the provision and maintenance of schools, the church, aided by the kings, had secured the foundation of three Universities, on the model of those of the Continent, where Scottish students, without leaving their native country, could have access to the higher learning.

If further proof were needed of the high educational level to which the country had attained, it is furnished by the remarkable legislative enactment of James IV by which for the first time in a European country education was made compulsory. An Act of the Parliament of 1496 decreed: "It is statute and ordanit throw all the realme that all barronis and frehaldaris that ar of substance put thair eldest sonnys and airis to the sculis fra thai be aucht or nyne yeiris of age and till remane at the grammer sculis quhill thai be competentlie foundit and have perfite latyne. And thereafter to remane thre yeiris at the sculis of Art and Jure sua that thai may have knowlege and understanding of the lawis. Throw the quhilkis Justice may reigne universalie throw all the realme.

Sua that thai that ar Shereffis or Jugeis Ordinaris under the kingis hienes, may have knowledge to do Justice, that the pure pepill suld have na neid to seik our soverane lordis principale auditoris for ilk small Injure. And quhat baroun or frehaldar of substance, that haldis nocht his sone at the sculis, as said is, haifand na lauchfull essonye,¹ bot failyeis heirin, fra knowledge may be gottin thairof, he sall pay to the king the soum of xx li.”²

The purpose of the Act is worthy of notice. Though the compulsion is restricted to the well-to-do classes, the intention is to benefit the general mass of the people by the spread of justice and equity throughout the whole realm.

¹ Excuse.

² Pounds.

III

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND THE REFORMATION

THE first half of the sixteenth century is marked by the gradual passing of burgh schools into the control of the town councils, by the decadence of the Universities, by a revival of zeal on the part of the old church in education, and by the introduction of printing into Scotland. The native tongue as a vehicle of instruction is of growing importance, and in the literature of the period there is a fine handling of the vernacular by such writers as Lyndsay in his satires on the abuses of the times.

In the Universities the impetus given by the zeal of the founders and the efforts of the masters soon exhausted itself, and by the time of the Reformation the same sad tale is to be told for each of the three centres of the higher learning, of negligence on the part of officials, of the paucity of numbers and lax discipline of the students, of financial difficulties and general decay. In the time of ecclesiastical storm and stress at which Scotland had now arrived it could not be that institutions so closely connected with the church as the Universities were would be otherwise than affected to their detriment.

The increased interest shown by town councils in the grammar schools of their burghs may in some cases have arisen from the increase of laxity that had for some time characterised the church. It was natural that in such circumstances the council, which had already in many cases charged itself with the provision and repair of the school building, and with the suppression of unauthorised rival seminaries, should assume the upkeep of the school and claim the right to appoint the teacher. In a number of cases the claim was stoutly resisted by the church and led to a vigorous contest between the council and the chancellor or the abbot as the case might be. Speaking generally, the effect of the Reformation was to hasten the process by which the councils obtained control of their schools. As a rule the councils were glad to have the co-operation and advice of the church, but there are not wanting instances in which town councils jealously resisted any interference with their appointment of the burgh teachers. In the case of the parish schools the control and management which had been in the hands of the old church naturally after the Reformation vested in the new.

But the religious awakening of the time was not confined to those who were desirous of leaving the old church. Within the church itself there arose a desire for reform, and the need for this was felt in the region of education. The Provincial Council at various meetings, at which were present some of the best representatives of the conservative thought of the time, made efforts to stem the recognised ignorance of the

clergy, and to make provision for the better instruction of the people. The nobles and the burghers were encouraged to restore the schools where they had decayed and to found new ones where needed. The monasteries and cathedral churches were asked to make better provision for preaching, for exposition of the Scriptures, and for instruction in theology. An attempt was made to correlate the work of the schools with the studies of the Universities; no students were to be allowed to enter the latter who were unable to speak Latin correctly. Instructions were given for the drawing up of a people's catechism in the Scots tongue, from which public readings were to be given by the clergy on Sundays.¹ The catechism was printed and issued in 1552 under the authority of Archbishop Hamilton. Prof. Hume Brown characterises its language as "the purest Scots of the time."²

The art of printing was introduced into Scotland at a most appropriate moment. There is no doubt that the old costly method of hand-copying of books was restrictive of the spread of knowledge among the general mass of the people, and to realise the reformers' ideal of an educated democracy the help of the printing-press was essential. The same King who was the first in Europe to enact compulsory education had the satisfaction of granting the first licence for printing in the Scottish realm. The year in which Chapman and Myllar received their licence from

¹ *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1551-2*, p. 144 (Scot. Hist. Soc.).

² *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III, p. 153.

James IV was 1507. So great was the demand for books that within two years resort was had to the law to put down those who were issuing without permission "mess-books, manuals, and donats." It is of educational interest to notice that part at least of the activity of the first Scottish printing-press was devoted to the issue of school text-books. Even during the sixteenth century, however, much of the printing needed for Scotland had to be done abroad. John Vaus, the grammarian, complains of the difficulties he had to meet in getting his grammar issued—"per maxima terrarum et marium discrimina, piratarumque qui injustissimi sunt latrocinia."¹

The increasing use of the vernacular, in place of Latin, as the medium of instruction and of discussion, was hastened by the desire of controversialists to appeal to all classes whether learned or simple. Prof. Hume Brown describes *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, the work largely of the brothers Wedderburn, as being, next to Knox's *Historie of the Reformation*, the "most memorable literary monument of the period in vernacular Scots."² In it there was collected a metrical version of the Psalms, and songs intended to convey instruction in the reformed doctrine, and to make manifest the errors of the unreformed faith. These ballads were set to popular airs, and made use of the choruses of the secular songs from which the airs were borrowed. The method was one that we have seen employed in our own time by the Salvation

¹ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. xxi, cited by Grant, p. 71.

² *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III, p. 141.

Army. Knox's *Historie* is of note as being "the first original work in prose which Scotland had yet produced."¹ Ninian Winzet, the distinguished school-master of Linlithgow, conservative in linguistic usages as he was in matters of doctrine, scoffs at Knox's anglicised style of writing: "Gif you throw curiositie of novations has forget our auld plane Scottis quhilk your mother lerit you: in tymes cuming I sall write to you my mynd in Latin; for I am not acquynted with your Southeroun."²

Among the school-books for the printing of which William Nudrye received a licence in 1559 are certain intended for the instruction "of thame that are desirous to reid and write the Scottis tounge."³ Lyndsay not only used the common speech for his satires, but is constant in his demand for instruction in the vernacular:

"I wald all bukis necessare
For our faith were in tyll our tounge vulgare."

"Let us haif the Bukis necessare
To commoun weill and our Salvatioun
Justlye translatit in our tounge vulgare."⁴

In 1543 an Act was passed to allow the people to read the Bible in their own tongue. The permission was largely taken advantage of, but the copies used

¹ Prof. Hume Brown in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III, p. 147.

² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, cited by Grant, p. 56.

⁴ Lyndsay, *Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World*.

were not issued from the Scottish printing-presses, but from those of the Continent. Some of them were imported direct, and others brought in from England. Part of the credit of introducing the Bible into Scotland probably belongs to Elizabeth's soldiers. One cannot fail to regard as an event of first importance this bringing of the fruits of Tyndale's labours within reach of the Scottish people.

It is to this period of increased activity in the use of the mother tongue as an instrument of learning that we must also date the introduction of the study of Greek into Scotland. As early as 1534 it was introduced into the grammar school of Montrose. In that school Andrew Melville was taught Greek by a Frenchman, Pierre de Marsiliers, and on entering the University of St. Andrews astonished the masters there by his ability to read Aristotle in the original. At Aberdeen also Greek must have been taught about the same time, for James V, on visiting the northern city, was entertained by the scholars with "*orationes in Graeca Latinaque lingua.*"¹ Hebrew also seems to have been taught in a few schools before the Reformation.

With regard to French, so many of the young Scots had for generations found scope for their activities in France, whether as students or as soldiers, and the two countries were so continuously in alliance and friendship, that there must have been a considerable number of persons in Scotland who could speak the language. It was one of the foreign languages that the Aberdeen

¹ Bishop Leslie, quoted by Grant, p. 47.

scholars were by the school regulations of 1553 allowed to speak among themselves. There is evidence that about this time in several of the Scottish schools the language was taught. Shortly after the Reformation there is a record of a schoolmaster specially licensed by the town council of Edinburgh to hold a school for the teaching of French.

The middle of the sixteenth century has left us one interesting picture of the actual school life of the pre-Reformation period. In the grammar of John Vaus, the printing of which in Paris, in 1553, has already been alluded to, were inserted the regulations of the grammar school of Aberdeen.¹

Pupils on entering school in the morning knelt down and repeated a short Latin prayer. At seven o'clock they were set to study a prescribed lesson. When this was done the master tested their knowledge and punished those who failed to answer to his satisfaction. At eight o'clock the master held a public prelection, after which the boys were released for breakfast. At ten o'clock came private prelection by the assistant masters, and at eleven the poor scholars were allowed to go to the town, and a little later the town boys were allowed to follow. At half-past eleven the head-master gave a prelection to certain of the pupils on Cicero, Terence, or Virgil. The stroke of noon set the boys free for dinner. By two o'clock they were ex-

¹ The Laws are given in detail by Grant, p. 60 *et seq.*, from *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*.

pected to be again in attendance for class prelections, which were supervised by the assistant masters in turn. It was their duty to take note of errors made by the scholars in their Latin, and of any who did not give due diligence to their studies. At four o'clock the boys rehearsed to their tutors the work of the day. From the fifth to the sixth hour they were occupied with evening disputations, which were concluded by the singing of evening prayers.

Beginners were expected to keep silence for a year. They were to memorise the table of confession, to acquire the art of counting, and doubtless also the rudiments of Latin grammar. Pupils were not allowed to use among themselves the vernacular until they had a knowledge of Latin, but could use in their speech Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Gaelic. Each scholar was to carry his own rod—a grim regulation. There was an exclusiveness of learning: none of the class of grammarians was allowed to have dealings with the dialecticians. Bartering, without a master's sanction, was not allowed; gambling for things of value, as one's dinner, books, or clothes, was forbidden. Other punishable offences were much like those of our own day—inattention, want of punctuality, non-preparation of lessons, restlessness, and mischievousness. In the records of another burgh¹ is noted another offence that has quite a modern flavour: if bairns break "glasen windows" repairs are to be at the expense of the parents. School routine and the failings of school-boys in the sixteenth century do not seem to have

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee, cited by Grant, p. 63.

differed so greatly as might have been expected from those of the early twentieth century.

Before discussing the Reformation in Scotland and its effect on education, the attitude on this question of the two churches which by this time had split Europe may be briefly considered. Luther may be taken as a type of the Protestant reformers, and Loyola as a representative leader of the Catholic reaction. The extremely democratic nature of Luther's educational demands is noteworthy: "The safety and strength of a city," he says, "reside above all in a good education, which furnishes it with reasonable, honourable, and well-trained citizens."¹ And he would have education compulsory. "If the authorities can oblige their able-bodied subjects to carry the lance and the arquebuse, to mount the ramparts, and to do complete military service, for a much better reason may they, and ought they, to force their subjects to send their children to school, for here it is the question of a much more terrible war with the devil."² Luther's idea was that a part of the child's time was sufficient for the instruction required: "My opinion is that we must send the boys to a school one or two hours a day, and have them learn a trade at home for the rest of the time. . . . And so the girls can equally well devote nearly the same time to school, without neglecting their home duties."³ The subjects Luther

¹ Cited by Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, p. 115.

² Cited by Payne, Compayré's *History of Pedagogy*, p. 115.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

desired to see taught were the languages, history, mathematics, nature-study, physical exercises, and music. He pleads for a different atmosphere in the schools, so that the young may have more happiness and more freedom. It must be admitted that this is a liberal conception of what was needed for the people's education, both in the subjects taught and in the method of teaching. He goes far towards anticipating the modern ideas on education that a century after were to be inaugurated by Comenius.

Turning now to Loyola, we find that the order of the Jesuits which he founded, and which did much to help forward the Catholic reaction on the Continent, directed a great part of its energy to the control of education. His propaganda was extraordinarily successful. But Compayré notes a great distinction between the Jesuit ideal of education and that of the reformers. "The Jesuits, during the whole course of their history, have deliberately neglected and disdained primary instruction. . . . They administer only the aristocratic education of the ruling classes, whom they hope to retain under their control."¹ In the Jesuit scheme religion and Latin, studied mainly for its style, were the outstanding subjects of instruction. As regards method, the leading principles were repetition and thorough mastery. A defect of the system, besides that pointed out by Compayré of confining its attention to secondary and higher education, is found in its separation of the child from the influences of the home, the desire to keep him, while in a

¹ Compayré, p. 142.

state of pupilage, entirely under its own influence. This contrasts both with Luther's plan of using only a small part of the child's time, and, as we shall see later, with Knox's desire to have the school easily accessible to the child residing at home.

In the great Humanist movement which preceded the Reformation, the Revival of Learning, Scotland had only a meagre share. Professor Hume Brown attributes this in part to the scanty population of the country—about half a million—and in part to the check that its poverty put on "the development of a rich and various national life."¹ Probably a good deal of weight should also be given to the fact that the Renaissance, reaching Scotland later than the continental centres, was followed so closely by the stress of the Reformation that Humanism was checked in its birth. It is true that in England also the growth of Puritanism did much to check the Revival of Learning, but only after a great part of its work of widening the horizon of life and clearing its sky had already been accomplished.

Further, as Prof. Hume Brown points out, the Reformation in Scotland was achieved in opposition to the Crown, and only at the cost of civil war.² A time of civil strife is not one for the burgeoning of literature or the blossoming of the humanities. When the soldier holds the stage the artist retires.

¹ *Cambridge History of Literature*, Vol. III, p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 140.

In most respects, then, it must be admitted that Scotland failed to share in the great outburst of intellectual life and in the reawakening of artistic appreciation that marked the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in most of the countries of Europe.

It is to be remembered, however, that while the nation missed the spring-time of the Renaissance there were conspicuous cases of individuals who shared in the movement fully and assimilated all that was best of the new learning.

From the point of view of national education the interesting feature of the Scottish Reformation was the attitude towards the instruction of the people taken up by the leaders of the movement. This has fortunately been clearly set forth in one of the chapters of *The First Book of Discipline*, in the framing of which it is understood that Knox, Wynram, and Douglas had a large share. In the preamble the reason for giving an important place to education is set forth: "Of necessity it is that your Honours be most careful for the virtuous education, and godly upbringing of the youth of the realm . . . for as the youth must succeed to us, so ought we to be careful that they have the knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the Church and spouse of the Lord Jesus." Knox and his fellows clearly believed that no church could remain pure and free which was based on ignorance. Hence the desire to spread learning among the

mass of the people. For this purpose a clearly defined plan was formulated: in sparsely peopled districts the local reader or minister was to be charged with the duty of instructing the young in the first rudiments, and especially in the catechism; every town church was to appoint a schoolmaster to teach grammar and Latin; larger towns were to maintain colleges (that is, central secondary schools), in which languages, logic, and rhetoric were to be taught, staffed with competent masters for whom "honest stipendis" were to be provided. Boys of ability whose friends were too poor to maintain them, especially such as were from the landward parts, were to have their needs provided for. Boys found apt at learning were to pass to the Universities. Of these there were to be three, in St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, reorganised by faculties, each constituting a separate college—law, divinity, and, in St. Andrews, medicine also. Each student was to begin with a three years' course in Arts—dialectic, mathematics, physics—and afterwards proceed to his professional training in the faculty selected. As a condition of matriculation each boy was to bring with him from his school a leaving certificate signed by his schoolmaster and minister. On entry, his knowledge of dialectics was to be tested by a preliminary examination. The whole system was thoroughly well thought out and the parts dove-tailed.

Nor was the compulsion that Luther desiderated wanting. Rich and poor were to educate their sons, the former at their own expense, the latter at the cost of the church: two years spent in learning to read,

acquiring the catechism, and beginning grammar ; and three or four years in the acquisition of Latin. If aptness of learning had by this time been shown, the boy was passed on to a centre school where he spent four years at Greek, logic, and rhetoric ; he then entered the University. If it was clear from a boy's record in any of the courses that he had reached a limit beyond which he was not likely to profit by continued literary study, he was not allowed to proceed to the next course. Instead, he was to be sent to some handicraft or "other profitable exercise." There is a robust practical common sense about it all that we cannot but admire. Arrangements were to be made for testing the scholar's progress and his fitness for promotion. The minister and elders, with other learned persons in the town whom they were to co-opt, formed a board of inspectors who were to visit the school quarterly.

At whatever stage a boy's school career stopped, he was to leave school equipped with the essentials of religious instruction, so that every man might possess the knowledge required by one who was to become a member of the Christian church.

The scheme is wonderfully comprehensive. Its democratic character, its careful gradation, from the provision of the rudiments in the remotest and most sparsely peopled district to the systematic University training for the learned professions, its general coherence, and the sensible fashion in which the existing machinery of the church and the State was to be utilised in this great social crusade for the production of an educated people, and the free up-draught for

ability, whatever the rank of society in which it discovers itself, are features that make the bold conceptions of *The First Book of Discipline* a landmark in the history of educational ideas and ideals.

The practical nature of the scheme is seen also in its proposed financial arrangements. Part of the patrimony of the ancient church, which in her time had charged herself with the provision of education, was to be allotted to the cause of learning, and set apart for the maintenance of schools, schoolmasters, and University professors. Nothing could be fairer. But unfortunately the proposal had against it the rapacious greed of those of the Scottish nobles who had already seized (or hoped to seize) the church lands, and had no intention of yielding up their spoils.

The scheme pointed the way to a national advance of a kind undreamt of at the time in any other European country. It formed an educational conception so far ahead of the times and of existing educational facilities that all progress in Scottish education (apart from the question of curricula) made from then till now has consisted largely of halting advances towards the reformers' scheme. During the last score of years the rate forward has been rapid, but even yet we have only approximated towards, we have not completely realised, Knox's ideal. All readers of Scottish history must agree with Dr. Kerr that by the diversion of the funds into private hands the country was "shamelessly robbed," and that its consequent falling short of a complete realisation of the scheme was "a national misfortune."¹

¹ Dr. Kerr, *Scottish Education*, p. 97.

While it is true that the main intention of the authors of this admirable scheme was religious, there is one statement of their aim that is noteworthy for its width of view. It is worth quoting as a grand thought to have found utterance in the midst of religious controversy and political strife: "Yf thei be fund apt to letteris and learning, then may thei not (we meane neathir the sonis of the riche nor yit the sonis of the porre), be permittit to reject learnyng; but must be chargeit to continew their studie, *sa that the common-wealthe may have some comfort by them.*"¹

Though the reformers' scheme of educational organisation could not be realised for want of funds, they did their best to set the system a-going. The church, itself a victim of the rapacity of the nobles, gave from

¹ With this compare Aristotle's view: "It is wrong for any citizen to think that he belongs to himself. All must be regarded as belonging to the state: for each man is a part of the state, and the element of the part is naturally determined by that of the whole: is a thing for which the Lacedæmonians deserve all praise; they are thoroughly in earnest about their children, and that as a community."—Aristotle, *Politics*, viii., translated by Prof. Burnet. Compare also recent statements of this aspect of the purpose of education:—"The universal aim of all education should be to correlate the child with the civilisation of his time; to lead him to acquire those experiences which will in after-life enable him to perform ably and rightly his duties as a worker, as a citizen, and as a member of an ethical and spiritual community organised for the securing of the well-being of the individual."—Prof. Darroch, *The Children*, p. 25. "Upon each individual life the community and the nation have in times of stress and danger their paramount claims; and it is the business of a good education to make boys and girls sensitive to those claims, in order that when they come to man's and woman's estate they may be ready with intelligent and large-minded unselfishness to sacrifice, when necessary, narrow, personal interests to those which are social and national."—Prof. Sadler, *Report on Education in Huddersfield*, p. 8.

its own slender resources what it could to support education. A few schools, fortunate beyond their neighbours, did receive some share of the old church endowments—from the sovereign, however, not the nobles. In the burghs the town councils made a praiseworthy effort to support their schools, and there is no doubt that the poverty of the church helped to hasten the work of school-municipalisation. Though the councils in most cases sustained the schools and appointed the masters, they seem as a rule to have done so with the advice and assistance of the local clergymen. In practice, the average bailie or town councillor would be glad to have the greater learning of the minister to lean on in testing the fitness of candidates for the office of schoolmaster. The Act of 1567 decreed that all schoolmasters were to be tried by the kirk superintendents or visitors, who were to satisfy themselves as to their character, religion, and skill in teaching. The same Parliament enacted that efficient religious instruction should be given to the young, declaring that, without this, other learning was “tinsell baith to thair bodyis and saulis.”¹ The catechism was taught on Saturday afternoons—to the younger pupils in Scots, to the elder in Latin. Nor were the teachers free from responsibilities on Sunday. Scripture teaching, catechising, and examination of the children on the sermon took up a considerable part of the day.

The schools were not always kept clear of the actual ecclesiastical struggle that was going on. The most

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, 1567, c. 11, cited by Grant, p. 416.

notable schoolmaster who continued in the old faith was Ninian Winzet, who seems to have been both a worthy and an able man. In argument he proved a match (more than a match, according to Mr. Lang) for John Knox himself. He drew up a manual of the points at issue in the theological controversy, and from this he set Latin themes to his boys. When the Reformation was consummated he refused to sign the Confession of Faith, and in consequence was dismissed from his appointment as master of the grammar school of Linlithgow; as he himself vividly describes it, he was "expellet and schott out." Numbers of the teachers suffered similar expulsions from their schools on account of their unwillingness to conform.¹ Even the scholars were expected by the General Assembly of 1587 to accept the established religion as a condition of admission to the schools.

More difficult to suppress, however, than the religious nonconformity of certain schoolmasters was the widespread refusal of schoolboys to give up the holidays that had been recognised under the old regime. Especially bitter was the warfare waged over the "superstitious time of Yule." For over a century, in spite of all the efforts of masters, town councils, and presbyteries, in spite even of the fulminations of the General Assembly itself, the boys clung to their ancient vacation rights, and maintained them stoutly, in some cases even with the unscholarly aid of "horrid disorders," in which we find them resisting the authorities "with hagbuts, pistols, swords, and long weapons." It

¹ Grant, p. 265.

is of the irony of things that it was an easier task for the Estates to reform the religion of a nation, for the nobles to steal the endowments of an ancient church, for ministers and kirk sessions to establish a grim censorship of morals and conduct over all classes of the community, than for all the powers combined to deprive the schoolboys of their holidays.

The course of a lad's education in the period immediately succeeding the Reformation may be gathered from the account James Melville has left us of his own schooling. At five years (that is, in the year 1561) his instruction began at home with the "grace book." At seven he entered the school at Logie-Montrose, where he spent the next five years in learning the catechism, prayers, Scripture, Latin grammar, and spoken French, and in reading such Latin works as the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, Virgil's *Eclogues*, and certain of the epistles of Cicero and Horace. Nor was the training of the body neglected. In their playing-fields the boys were taught by their master archery, golf, and fencing, and were practised in running, leaping, swimming, and wrestling. He was next enrolled in the school at Montrose, where he revised his Latin grammar, did composition exercises, and read, among other books, Terence's *Phormio* and Virgil's *Georgics*. He notes that at this time one of his friends in Montrose, the sister of his former schoolmaster, kept a dame's school "for lasses." A similar indication as to the education of girls—which at the time

included at least reading, writing, music, and needlework—is supplied by his reference to his sister as reading Lyndsay to him. When between fourteen and fifteen years of age he proceeded to the University of St. Andrews and took the usual course in logic and rhetoric, mathematics and physics. He devoted some time to music, and would gladly have studied Greek, but only the elements of that language were available. The completion of his education was taken in hand by his erudite uncle, Andrew Melville, who by this time had, as Principal, reorganised the curriculum of Glasgow University by establishing a four years' course in Arts that provided a wide range of studies in Latin and Greek literature, mathematics and astronomy, natural philosophy, history, and moral philosophy. This was followed by a two years' course in Divinity, which included careful instruction in Hebrew. The St. Andrews curriculum and that of Glasgow may be taken as representing the old and the new—the traditional training in scholasticism that belonged to the Middle Ages, and the new Humanistic learning of the Renaissance that was displacing it.

The curriculum of Glasgow grammar school at the same period has come down to us. There was a five years' course of Latin, which included grammatical study, and the reading and translation of Cicero, Ovid, Horace, Terence, Sallust, and Cæsar. Considerable attention was given to composition in Latin prose and verse. There are glimpses of very sound methods. A Scots translation of a passage from Cicero, for example, was given to be translated into good Latin.

Each boy then read his theme aloud in class, and had his errors corrected by the master, who finally completed the exercise by reading to the boys Cicero's version, which was then committed to memory. Part of the time of the last year was given to the study of the rudiments of Greek grammar.

The schools were regularly visited and inspected. In the case of the smaller schools this was done by the ministers, elders, and others whom they associated with them. The "visitation" of city schools was undertaken by the town council, the presbytery, and representatives of the University, who told off certain of their number to conduct the examination. The discipline as well as the academic proficiency of the school came under review. In Glasgow the Scots school was examined on the day following that given to the grammar school, and for this purpose the master of the grammar school was associated with the delegates. One of the purposes of this visitation was to find out the boys fit to be promoted to the grammar school, to hold, in short, a "qualifying examination" (Scotch Code, Art. 29).

The general impression produced by a study of the latter part of the sixteenth century is that of an honest and earnest attempt by the church authorities and the general body of citizens to carry out, as far as crippled financial resources would allow, the recommendations of *The First Book of Discipline*. While doing so they do not cease to protest vigorously to sovereign and Parliament against the nobles for their "wrangous using of the patrimony of the kirk to the great hurt of scullis."¹

¹ Cited by Grant, p. 80.

IV

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

THERE are no striking developments within the schools to mark the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is a gradual, if slow, extension of educational facilities, some slight improvement in the emoluments of schoolmasters, a steady reduction in the length of the school day, and a considerable widening, especially during the eighteenth century, of the curriculum

The burgh schools continued to be managed by the town councils and the clergy; the parish schools by the ministers and the heritors. Appointments of teachers were made in the burghs by the councils, but these usually depended on the church for the trials of the rival candidates; in the parish schools the presbytery charged itself with the duty of appointment. Vacancies were often advertised and the master selected either by a competitive examination of the candidates or by consideration of the recommendations they brought. When a test was set, it was, in the earlier part of the period, confined to classics; but later, mathematics, natural philosophy, history, and

geography find a place. The periodical visits of inspection were continued, but the eighteenth century shows on the whole some diminution of educational zeal on the part of the municipalities. Schoolmasters were supported by endowments where these existed, and by grants from the "common good" of the burghs. Where the "common good" had decreased or disappeared a voluntary assessment was levied for the upkeep of the school. The interest of the councils in the welfare of education, and their desire to provide facilities for the young, are constant features throughout the two centuries. In the case of the parish schools the church gave financial aid. The main source of the teacher's income, however, was the fees paid by parents whose children were at the schools. These fees were paid quarterly and in advance, and payment was rigidly enforced; but poor children might have their fee reduced or might be taught free, the council making up for the loss.

The income from fees was added to by gifts made by the parents at special periods. The most important of these was Candlemas, when in all schools a free gift was made to the master, the amount being in proportion to the parent's means. Another curious custom was the paying of the "bent silver." In olden times the floor of the schoolroom was covered with a layer of rushes or bent, and this was periodically renewed. On these occasions a holiday was allowed to enable the children to cut and gather the bent. Later on, a money payment was made instead, but the children continued to get their prescriptive

holiday once a quarter when the "bent silver" was handed over to the master.

An even more curious source of income was that furnished by a yearly cock-fight in the school. This was held on Shrove Tuesday and was attended by all the boys, who as a rule furnished the cocks, paying to the master a small sum of money for the privilege. Those not bringing cocks, however, paid double. In some cases the master also obtained as part of his spoils all cocks that failed to show fight or fled during the combat.¹ This barbarous custom began to fall into disuse about the middle of the eighteenth century, though in some schools it persisted into the early nineteenth.

In addition to the money payments enumerated, most schoolmasters were provided with a dwelling-house, and various additional grants were made to enable them to live in greater comfort. Often fuel was provided, either by the town council supplying peat or coal, or by each parent sending a cart of peats to the schoolhouse. Later, a money payment was made in lieu of the supply of fuel.

Various cases are recorded² in which grants were made to the master "to support him in his claythis." On one occasion a town council gives the assistant master a donation of "half-a-guinea in gold, to buy him ane new hatt." One wonders into what extreme state of dilapidation the old one had fallen to produce this public beneficence. Food was often supplied for the under-teachers, and frequently these boarded

¹ Grant, p. 478.

² *Ibid.*, p. 490.

with various parents in town. There is a slight survival of the old custom in the present method followed in some very remote districts of having a junior teacher board with outlying families while teaching their children, the School Board giving a small grant to the parent to help him to pay the salary.

The teachers' emoluments were undoubtedly small, and we are not surprised that many of them were in the habit of eking out a livelihood by the performance of other duties, such as those of precentor, reader, session-clerk, collector of poor-rate, even town-clerk and notary public.¹

On special occasions of ceremonial the teacher's gifts of erudition were often pressed into the public service. He was a kind of official maker of public orations, congratulatory speeches in Ciceronian periods, and commemorative Latin verses. In some cases, indeed, the schoolmaster held a definite appointment of this kind from the magistrates and council.²

Occasionally the minister was also the schoolmaster, a practice that has held even in recent times in lone St. Kilda. It was natural also that the school should often be a stepping-stone to the ministry. This was especially the case in the parish school. Young men studying for the church found it a convenient pausing place in which to make up their minds, or a recruiting ground of scanty financial resources. This practice had many drawbacks, but it must have helped to keep up the teaching of the higher subjects in remote schools.

¹ Grant, p. 300.

² *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Throughout the two centuries the main features to be remembered are that a general provision was made of education for all ranks and classes, and that both in the burgh school and in the parish school this education, by the lowness of the fees and by special help for the poorer children, was kept open to all; that provision was made for the instruction in higher subjects of those who showed ability, poverty being no disqualification, and that this instruction led to the Universities; and lastly, that a compulsory element was always present, supplied by the general demand of the community, the pressure exercised by the church, and by the more definite enactments, with penalties attached, of councils and magistrates. "We have discovered no other place," says James Grant, "so small, barren, and poor as old Scotland, which had devised and maintained a system of education in burghs and parishes so free and enlarged, that parents of small or moderate means, or no means at all, were enabled to give to their children the highest form of instruction in the country; and it is our opinion that in no other country did the poorer classes, including the small farmers, crofters, artisans, and labourers, prize a liberal education to the same extent as those classes have done in our own country."¹

Part of the English instruction during the two centuries was given in adventure schools, which were sometimes authorised by the local authorities, with the condition attached of due attention to prayers, and a stipulation as to the amount of fees to be

¹ Grant, p. 335.

charged. In the smaller burghs the grammar school itself undertook the earlier stages of instruction in English; but the larger grammar schools expected their pupils to be able to read and write before entering. We have found that their fitness to enter upon the grammar-school course was tested at the periodical visitation of the English school, and that this constituted in effect a "qualifying examination," such as is at the present day revived in Article 29 of the Scotch Code. About the middle of the eighteenth century a fresh interest began to be taken in English: there are numerous references in the records to a "new method" of teaching the subject, and a new branch, English grammar, was introduced. The study of geography also seems to have been introduced for the first time early in the eighteenth century.

While some instruction in counting was given from an early time, little progress was made in arithmetical teaching before 1700. The study of pure mathematics begins to gain ground about the middle of the seventeenth century, and by the end of the eighteenth has attained to considerable prominence and is widely spread. It seems, on some occasions at least, to have had quite a practical bent, as we hear of schools provided with azimuth compass and theodolite. From the beginning of the eighteenth century book-keeping begins to receive some slight attention, and in the schools of seaport towns considerable care was given to the teaching of navigation. Before the end of the century something must have been done in the way of teaching science, for we hear of a school

being equipped with an air-pump, an "electrolising machine," and apparatus to illustrate dynamical principles. Drawing was taught in some schools in the seventeenth century, and by the end of the eighteenth a number of schools were provided with drawing masters.

Dancing was not forbidden, and some councils encouraged it by appointing dancing masters. Dramatic representation in schools had been made use of from a very early time, and had received encouragement and monetary support; but in the eighteenth century both dancing and acting of plays came under the ban of the church, and in many districts the evil odour into which these arts then fell still clings to them.

The decay of music which followed upon the Reformation soon became the subject of public attention, and attempts were made in various burghs to revive music schools. The General Assembly of 1713 required schoolmasters to teach to their scholars the psalm tunes that were used in church, and the attention of presbyteries was directed to the need for encouraging the teaching of music in the schools. Some burgh schools had specialist masters on their staffs for teaching the subject.

Of modern languages the only one taught was French. The chief language teaching of the grammar schools was, of course, devoted to Latin, which was not only a language for grammatical study, but also for practical use, as it continued to be the medium of communication in all schools and colleges down to the

latter part of the seventeenth century. Some schools, indeed, used it into the eighteenth century. The usual grammar-school course extended to five years, and was uniform for all pupils. Various efforts were made to secure the adoption of a national Latin grammar and uniformity of teaching, but these failed. It was regarded as a question of high public importance, for we find the Convention of Royal Burghs, the Privy Council, and the Parliament all taking the matter into their serious consideration. This furnishes another proof, if any were needed, of the interest which in Scotland has always been taken by the State in questions of education. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Ruddiman's *Rudiments* supplanted all other grammars. It had its text both in Latin and English, so that it may be regarded as marking a movement towards modern methods of teaching. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the question of methods of teaching seems in Scotland to have received some attention, various easy grammars appeared, which were intended to smooth for the feet of young learners the path to Parnassus. It was usual for each of the assistant masters to carry his pupils through the whole course until they entered the rector's class.

A much longer school day was demanded from scholars and teachers then than now. About 1600, Glasgow boys began their school day at 5 a.m.; those of Stirling were in school from 6 to 9, 10 to 12, and 1 to 6. In the eighteenth century the usual hours were, in summer, from 7 to 9, 10 to 12, and 2 to 4;

in winter, 9 to 12, and 2 to 4. Succeeding generations have become either more humane or more loth to rise in the mornings.

The instruction provided for the girls during the period under review was mainly given in "dame" or adventure schools, and was confined to English subjects, a little arithmetic, and much needlework. In some cases cookery, and in others music, was added. Sometimes provision was made for a more elaborate industrial training, and such subjects as embroidery, lace-working, and the washing and dressing of linen were included. The interest in methods in the latter half of the eighteenth century already alluded to extended to the education of girls, and some encouragement was given by town councils to an extension of their curriculum. As a result, to their English and industrial work was added some instruction in arithmetic, geography, drawing, music, and French. In smaller schools it was, of course, natural that girls should receive their English instruction along with the boys. This occasionally occurred even in the grammar schools; for in the case of one burgh we find the council early in the seventeenth century ordering that the girls shall leave the grammar school and go to the sang school, as it was "not seemly that sic lasses should be among the lads."¹

To complete this discussion of the subjects of study, it remains to consider the provision made for religious instruction during these two centuries. For adults

¹ *Burgh Records of Ayr*, 1602, cited by Grant, p. 535.

there was the regular preaching of the ministry, and the catechising which accompanied the ministerial visits to the homes of the parishioners. Presbyterian visitations also helped to stir up heads of families to their duties regarding family observance of worship and the reading of the Word. Sometimes the services of the young were utilised for the instruction of the old. Two boys of the grammar school of Leith said over each Sunday their "caritches openlie in the kirk, for the instruction of the commones."¹ In 1700 Aberdeen council arranged that two boys from the grammar school should go to the two churches each Sabbath day and repeat prescribed portions of the Shorter Catechism.²

Schoolmasters all over the country gave lessons, once a week or oftener, on the Scriptures and catechism. Frequently the Saturday forenoon was devoted to this work; occasionally on the Saturday portions of Buchanan's Psalms or of the Latin Bible were prescribed to be memorised, and the adequate preparation of the lesson was tested on Monday morning. Councils, ministers, and parents alike regarded as of first importance the religious instruction of the scholars, and much time and pains were spent upon it. On Sunday the masters were still in many cases expected to accompany the boys to church, where certain pews were set apart for their use. Later in the day the master examined his scholars on the sermon. It was not till near the end of the eighteenth

¹ 1616. Grant, p. 433.

² *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, cited by Grant, p. 434.

century that this marching of the scholars to church in procession was discontinued.

In the seventeenth and earlier part of the eighteenth century there is little progress in connection with the Universities to chronicle. The faculty of Arts took chief place. The impetus of Renaissance vigour which we have seen in connection with Melville's reorganisation had exhausted itself, and had been followed by a lapse into dreary scholasticism and mediævalism. The system by which the regents each carried a class through a four years' course in all subjects itself barred educational advance. The disappearance of this regenting and the introduction of professors who became responsible for single subjects, the substitution of English for Latin as the medium of communication between lecturers and students, the gradual abolition of residence and with it the disappearance of efforts at meticulous surveillance, had brought about by the middle of the eighteenth century a more satisfactory state of University life and brighter prospects of intellectual advance.

Edinburgh University, a municipal growth, had conferred degrees before the end of the sixteenth century; but it was not till 1621 that full privileges were conferred on the College by Act of Parliament. The seventeenth century saw the rise of the Royal College of Surgeons and later of the College of Physicians. In the eighteenth century Edinburgh became known for mathematical scholarship. The University medical

school which in modern times has attained to such eminence dates from the early part of the eighteenth century. A number of new Chairs were added towards the end of the century.

In Aberdeen Marischal and King's College had been united in 1641, but remained rivals. It was Marischal College that had most of the spirit of progress, and gave the first indication of a wish to make its work practical. A century later at St. Andrews, St. Leonard's and St. Salvator's were also united.

The latter part of the eighteenth century was marked by an increase of activity in the Universities, by the introduction of new subjects and Chairs, particularly in the department of medicine, and by an increase in the number of students and of those who completed their course by graduating, a proceeding which had rather fallen out of favour earlier in the century, and in some of the Universities did not again become the rule until after the Act of 1858.

V

EDUCATION IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS

It is a somewhat general belief that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Highlands and Islands lay outside the general educational movement of the rest of the country, that the various Education Acts were there inoperative, and that educationally these districts were in the gross darkness of ignorance.¹ Let us consider whether the facts warrant such a belief.²

In 1545, of the Highland chiefs who leagued with Henry VIII none could write.³ With the leaders illiterate the outlook for educational progress in their dominions was certainly not hopeful. Further, the districts now to be considered were so remote, and so far removed from change, that national movements might easily pass them by. This applied even to

¹ Sir Henry Craik quotes Dr. Norman Macleod as saying, "Till a very late period there was no school in the Highlands, and in the few schools that were English alone was taught."—Sir Henry Craik, *The State and Education*, p. 129.

² To show how far the view in question exaggerates the undoubted educational deficiencies of the Highland area, it has seemed advisable to deal in greater detail with this part of the subject than would be warranted if the history of education in the Highlands and Islands were better known than it is.

³ A. Lang, *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, p. 483.

religious movements. Certain parts of the Highlands and Islands were, for example, never reached by the Reformation, and remain Catholic to this day. The Episcopal form of church government, introduced into Glencoe, Appin, and Lochaber during James VI's reign, still prevails there. Nor was the remoteness the only bar to change. The clan feuds and frequent fights kept the country in a ferment, and hindered every form of social advancement.

In 1609 the Bishop of the Isles convened a meeting of the Island chiefs at Iona. Unlike those of Henry VIII's time, these were able to read and write. They attended rather unwillingly, and agreed in the Band of Icolmkill to bring about in their territories certain improvements in religion, loyalty, law-abidingness, morals, and manners. Of most immediate interest is the sixth of the statutes, that relating to education:

"The quhilk day it being understand that the ignorance and incivilitie of the saidis Ilis hes daylie inressit be the negligence of gaid education and instruction of the youth in the knowledge of God and good lettres: For remeid quhairof it is enactit that every gentilman or yeaman within the saidis Ilandis or ony of thame having children, maill or famell, and being in goodis worth thriescoir ky, sall putt at the leist thair eldest sone, or having no childrene maill, thair eldest dochtir, to the scuillis in the lawland and interteny and bring thame up thair quhill thay may be found sufficientlie to speik, reid, and write Inglische."¹

¹ Sixth of the *Statutes of Icolmkill*, 23rd August, 1609.

Either the chiefs were slow to give effect to the Band or the Privy Council was impatient to see the fruits of their effort, for seven years later it is decreed:

“Forasmekle as the Lordis of Secrete Counsall, vnderstanding that the cheif and principall causs quhilk hes procurit and procuris the continewance of barbaritie, impietie, and inciuitie within the Yllis of this Kingdome, hes proceidit from the small cair that the chiftanes and principall clannit of the Yllis hes haid of the education and vpbringing of thair childrene in vertew and learning: who, being cairles of thair dewteis in that point and keeping thair childrene still at home with thame, whair they sie nothing in thair tender yeiris bot the barbarous and inciuite formes of the countrie, thay are thairby maid to apprehend that thair is no vther formes and dewteis of ciuitie kept in ony vther pairt of the countrie, sua that quhen thay come to the yeiris of maturitie hardlie can thay be reclaimed frome these barbarous rud and inciuite formes quhilkis for laik of instruction war bred and satled in thame in thair youth: whairas if thay had bene sent to the inland in thair youthe and traynit vp in vertew, learnyng, and the Inglis tunge, thay wald haif bene the bettir preparit to reforme thair countreis, and to reduce the same to godlines, obedience, and ciuitie: Thairfor the saidis Lordis ordanes and comandis the haille chiftanes and principall clanit men of the Yllis that thay and euery ane of thame send thair bairnis being past nyne yeiris of age to the scoollis in the inland to be trayned vp in vertew, learnyng, and the

Inglish tunge; and ordanes that no person quahatsomevir in the Ylis salbe seruit air to thair father or vtheris predicessouris nor ressaut nor acknawlegeit as tenentis to His Maiestie vnles thay can write, reid, and speake Inglishche.”¹

The opening sentence of the Education Act of 1616 shows the same attitude towards the Gaelic language :

“That the vulgar Inglish tounge be vniversallie plantit, and the Irishe language, which is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removeit.”²

This had not always been the way in which the Gaelic tongue was regarded. We have seen that in the middle of the sixteenth century it was one of the languages allowed to be used for colloquial purposes by the boys of Aberdeen grammar school, whilst a similar use of English as a substitute for Latin was discouraged. In 1574 Allan McIntosche was “exhorter and reader” at Cawdor “in the Irische tounge.”

It is not to be imagined from these Privy Council and Parliamentary expressions of opinion that all Highlanders were devoid of a desire to learn ; on the contrary, even so early as 1597 there was a sufficient number of them in attendance at the grammar school of Glasgow to cause the church authorities to direct the master to catechise “his Irische scholleris” in religion.³

¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, 26th July, 1616.

² *Ibid.*, 10th December, 1616.

³ *Presbytery Records of Glasgow*, cited by Grant, p. 417.

During the seventeenth century several Education Acts, Episcopal and Presbyterian, were passed. That of 1633 authorised the establishment of parish schools under the charge of the bishops ; that of 1646 enacted that in every parish a school should be founded with the advice of the Presbyteries ; and this in turn was repealed at the Restoration.

In the latter half of the century schools in various parts of the Highlands are recorded. In 1650 a schoolmaster was appointed to the school at Alness, and in the same year a Presbytery minute shows a similar provision at Kilmorack :¹ "Compeared Hew Ross from the paroch of Kilmorack, and the Presbyterie being certified of his good education and conversation, and finding upon tryall his ability for instructing of children and fitting them for grammar schooles doe therefore admitt him to the said charge." In 1664 a Mr. John Macrae became schoolmaster at Dingwall. In 1677 the schoolmaster of Kiltarlity receives "a large applaus for his painefullness and diligent attendance on schoole and sessione."² The teacher at Kirkhill was also "precentor and clerk, and read the Scriptures publickly every Lord's Day, in the Irish, betwixt the second and third bell." His remuneration consisted of "a chalder of victuall with £20 Scots out of the box, and also the baptisme and marriage money."³ Care was taken to have the masters prove their competency. In 1673, for example, the schoolmaster about to be appointed to Inverness was first "examined in

¹ William Mackay, *Education in the Highlands in the Olden Times*, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.* ; 1 Pound Scots = 1/8.

the third book of Horace, delivered a Latin oration *De vanitate humanæ scientiæ*, and passed through all other tryalls usuall in the like case.”¹

The educational needs of the remoter Highlands did not escape the notice of King William, and in 1690 it was enacted that all vacant stipends within the bounds of the synod of Argyll were to be applied “for the setting up and maintaining of schools.” But William’s most notable contribution to the cause of education in Scotland was the important Act of 1696 for the establishment of a school in each parish. It is entitled an Act for Settling of Schools, and ordains: “That there be a School settled and a Schoolmaster appointed in every Parish not already provided, by advice of the Heritors and Minister of the Parish; And for that Effect, That the Heritors in every Parish meet, and provide a commodious House for a School, and settle and modify a Sallary to a Schoolmaster, which shall not be under One hundred Merks, nor above Two hundred Merks, to be paid Yearly at two Terms. . . . As also, it is declared, That the providing of the said Schools and Schoolmasters, is a Pious Use within the Parish, to which it shall be lawful and leisume to Patrons to employ the Vacant Stipends as they shall see cause.”²

It was not only in such accessible parts of the Highlands as Easter Ross and the north of Inverness-shire that schools were being established and maintained. The outlying regions showed similar educational

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

² *Laws and Acts of the First Parliament of William III*, c. xxvi.

efforts. The case of Lewis may be taken as illustrative of what was being attempted in the most unlikely places. As the largest and most remote of the Outer Isles it was not likely to be ahead of other parts of the Highland area in its provision of educational facilities. The character of the islesmen is vigorously and picturesquely described by the Privy Council of 1605: "Forasmekill as the King's Majestie remembering the barbarous and detestable murthers, slaughters, and uther insolencies committit be the wicked and rebellious thieves and lymmaris, violent possessors and inhabitants of the Lewis . . . quhair thai live most lasciviously and insolentlie, without fear of God or reverence of his Majesties authoritie, and, besydes thair barbarous and godless forme of living, and the beastlie cruelties quhich every ane of thaim commits upon ane uther, thai are professit and avowit enemies to all his Majesties guid subjects, and to all strangers quha aither in thair lawfull trade of fishing or be contrairious winds are set upon thair coist . . . and his Majestie knawing that it cannot stand with his Hienes honour and princely dignitie that sic an unfamous byke of lawles lymmaris salbe sufferit in ony pairt of his Majesties dominions" gives orders "to extirpat and root thaim out."¹ The lurid colouring will be better understood if it is remembered that James had autocratically confiscated the estate and was trying to plant colonists from Fife in the island, to which the natives were, not unnaturally, objecting. These colonists were first planted in the Island in

¹ Register of the Privy Council (1605), p. 89.

1598. The men of Fife in their preliminary plans made arrangement for the establishment of a school whose benefits, however, were to be entirely restricted to the immigrants.¹ After various ups and downs, raids, surprises, and throat-cuttings, the colonisation scheme was finally abandoned and the Island was handed over by the King to Mackenzie of Kintail, who took possession in 1610. He brought over the vicar of Gairloch to minister to the inhabitants of the Island, who had seemingly been left outside the sphere of church activity during the half-century succeeding the Reformation. In spite of Parliament having decided that the Islanders were "void of all religion and humanitie," they welcomed the religious ministrations now offered, and met half-way these novel efforts to amend their morals. Kintail, or one of his immediate successors, seems also to have taken steps to establish a school; for in a description of Lewis written about 1680 occurs the following: "Onlie for the tyme the countrie is possessed and safelie governed by the Earle of Seaforth, by whose industrious care and benevolence, the people formerly inclined to rudeness and barbarity are reduced to civilitie, much understanding and knowledge, by the flourishing school planted and maintained by the said Earls all the tyme in the toun of Stornuway. And not onlie the people of the Lews but also those of the nixt adjacent Isles. The gentlemen's sons and daughters are bred in that schooll to the great good and comfort of the people; so that there are few families but at least the maister can read and

¹ W. C. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, p. 530.

write.”¹ Martin also, who visited the Hebrides some years later, writes: “There is a village called Storn-bay, at the head of the bay of that name; it consists of about sixty families; there are some houses of entertainment in it, as also a church and a school, in which Latin and English are taught.”² Later references to this school show that it had a considerable career of prosperity and usefulness, being aided by a small annual endowment which had been settled upon it by the Superior of the Island.

About this time a number of nobles and gentlemen, impressed by the need for the provision of greater educational facilities in the Highlands and Islands, formed themselves into a Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Funds were collected, and in 1709 a Patent was obtained from Queen Anne. The work of establishing schools was vigorously entered upon. The General Assembly was sympathetic, and urged the Highland presbyteries to lend their aid. Of the first dozen schools established one was in remote St. Kilda.

In George I's reign an Act was passed dealing with the estates forfeited after “the Fifteen.” In this Act £20,000 was set aside “toward Erecting and Maintaining Schools in the Highlands of Scotland.”³ But of this considerable sum voted, a grant of £2000, which was paid over to the S.P.C.K., seems to have been the only part that was ever actually disbursed for educa-

¹ *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 215 (S. H. S., Vol. 52).

² Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*.

³ Act 4 George I (1718).

tion.¹ The King himself, however, gave an annual grant of £1000 to help the work in the Highlands.

Both the S.P.C.K. and the Committee appointed to administer the Royal Bounty early recognised the educational needs of Lewis. In 1745, in connection with the transfer of the schoolmaster and catechist from the parish of Lochs to that of Barvas, it is noted that he receives four pounds from the Society and four pounds from the Committee. Meanwhile Lord Fortrose had deprived the Stornoway School of "the hunder pound Scots formerly allowed by his predecessors for some ages,"² and the school had been closed. For the next sixteen years the Presbytery makes efforts, with the help of the church authorities, to recover the endowment, evidently without success. But, with the aid of the S.P.C.K. and the Royal Bounty, schools continued to be taught in Stornoway and in at least two other centres in the island. These schools were periodically examined and reported on by the Presbytery. Almost invariably after their examination the comforting formula appears in their minutes that the brethren "found cause to be satisfied with the diligence of the master and the progress of the scholars."³

The Society and Committee evidently did not propose to have any masters with Jacobite leanings among the ranks of their teachers, for in the year of Culloden they instruct that before the salaries of the

¹ *Report on Funds of the Forfeited Estates* (1806), Scottish History Society, Vol. 57.

² *Records of the Presbytery of Lewis* (1743).

³ *Ibid.* (1746).

schoolmasters are paid they must be certified as "not only useful to be continued, but also if they be persons of loyalty and good affection to the present Government."¹

In 1750 the Presbytery contributes £4 to the repairing of the schoolhouse in Stornoway. Three years after, the parishes of Lochs, Barvas, and Uig agree to pay 10s. each out of their mulets "to Mr. William Mackenzie, schoolmaster of Stornoway, for the space of one year," whilst Stornoway church pays 20s.² The interesting feature about this is that the school was evidently regarded as a "centre school" which was performing a service for the country parishes, and that these, in giving a grant, recognised their indebtedness to it. It is noted on the appointment of a new schoolmaster that he "was examined and approved by the Presbytery to be master of the Grammar School of Stornoway, and he declares his willingness to sign the formula of the Church according to law and Acts of the General Assembly."³ Two years after, the schoolmaster and catechist of Stornoway is recommended "to employ such part of his time as he can spare from his business as catechist in teaching such parts of literature as may be useful to prepare such persons for the University as have a view to be students of divinity."⁴

A spinning school was established in Stornoway in 1763, the spinning mistress having been imported from Fife. At first the women of Lewis would not

¹ *Records of the Presbytery of Lewis.*

² *Ibid.* (1759).

³ *Ibid.* (1753).

⁴ *Ibid.* (1761).

come to the school, a rumour having gone abroad that there was a design to send them to the Plantations. When they were reassured the school at once filled, and they proved themselves very apt and capable learners. It was expected that three years would be needed to train 150, but the work was accomplished within a year of the opening. About three months was found to be sufficient time to enable a batch of learners, fifty in number, and of ages ranging from nine to twenty-five, to acquire sufficient dexterity.¹

A Presbytery minute of 1774 gives an account of the hours, subjects of study, and other details of the Stornoway school. It explains that as the new master was "a young man without much experience of the world," the Presbytery thought it proper to form the following regulations by which the schoolmaster and scholars were to conduct themselves:

1. To train up the youth in the principles of religion and morality, being the most essential part of education, it is recommended to the master to labour diligently therein in his teaching, discipline, and by his example. For this purpose he is every day to begin and dismiss the meeting of his school with prayer.

2. He is to set apart two afternoons every week for catechising his scholars in the principles of Christianity, and for repeating and explaining such forms of prayer as may be best suited to the age and capacity of the scholars.

¹ Dr. John Walker, *Economical History of the Hebrides* (1765).

3. The master is to inspect the morals of the scholars not only during the time they are in the school, but also while they are abroad at their diversions, particularly that they abstain from lying, cursing, swearing, pilfering, and profanation of the Lord's Day. For this purpose he is to appoint censors, who are to report whatever they see their fellow-scholars do amiss, either in or out of school.

4. If any scholar shall continue vicious and obstinate after all habile methods are used for reclaiming him, he shall be extruded, lest his bad example should debauch the morals of the rest.

5. It is recommended to the master to use all mild methods his prudence will suggest for the due exercise of his office, before he proceed to correction; but if he find that mild methods are ineffectual, he is to correct with temper and moderation, and he is inhibited from receiving any scholar to his school whom his parents or guardians will not put in his power to correct if it be necessary.

6. From the first of October to the first of February the scholars are to convene at eight o'clock, to be dismissed at ten forenoon, to convene again at eleven, and to be dismissed at three. During the rest of the year they are to convene at seven in the morning, to be dismissed at nine forenoon, to convene at ten, to be dismissed at twelve, to convene again at two o'clock, and to be dismissed at five afternoon.

7. On such Sundays as there is a sermon at Stornoway the scholars are to convene in the school at eleven o'clock, to repeat such questions as were

prescribed the evening before, and then to walk along with the master to church. When the length of the day admits, they are again to convene at six o'clock afternoon, to give notes of the sermon, or for such other exercises as the master shall direct, and to be dismissed at seven. On such Sundays as there is no sermon at Stornoway, the scholars are to convene at twelve o'clock and to remain till two o'clock in such exercises as the master shall judge expedient.

8. The scholars are to be arranged into classes. The first class of English scholars to read Mason's spelling book, the second the New Testament and ——'s Dictionary, the third the Bible, and the fourth the *Œconomy of Human Life*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and [an English Grammar]. The Latin and Greek classes will be recommended to the master as they are needed.

9. Every scholar must be possessed of a copy of the book read by the class he belongs to, otherwise he is not to be received.

10. The school fees are eighteen pence for teaching English and writing, two shillings for writing and arithmetic, and half a crown for Latin and Greek—all by the quarter. The master is to give at school hours such a number of lessons in church music in the week to his scholars as he shall judge proper, or if between or after school hours he shall attend other persons for that purpose, his scholars shall also attend and be taught gratis.¹

¹ *Records of the Presbytery of Lewis (1774).*

In 1781, on the recommendation of the local Presbytery, a missionary was appointed to Stornoway on the Royal Bounty instead of a catechist, and four years after the Committee arrange that the missionary appointed to Stornoway shall teach in the school "besides English and the principles of religion, arithmetic, Latin, and Greek."¹

Of special interest is the attempt made to provide instruction in Greek; for it was just about this time that tentative efforts were being made to introduce the study of Greek into the High School of Edinburgh.²

This attention to higher subjects was found in other parts of the Highlands. Among the papers connected with the Lovat estates after their forfeiture is a petition by the schoolmaster, dated 1764, "anent building a schoolhouse, instead of the one then in use, made of earth and drystone, neither windtight nor watertight, and the poor people thereby much discouraged to send their children to it . . . where not only Latin and Greek, but Reading, Writing, Church Music, Cyphering, and Book-keeping are taught."³

In 1797 the Statistical Account says that the two schools in Stornoway were provided with "able teachers, good accommodation, and good salaries." In

¹ *Ibid.*, 1781.

² But some Greek had been taught in the High School early in the seventeenth century.—Steven's *Edinburgh High School*, p. 48. It is to be remembered that the Privy Council in 1672, to protect the University monopoly, had forbidden the schools to teach Greek.—Dr. Kerr, *Scottish Education*, p. 260.

³ *Forfeited Estates Papers*, p. 99. (S. H. S., Vol. 57.)

the parish school the subjects taught were English, writing, arithmetic, Latin, geography, navigation, and book-keeping.¹ In the first year of the nineteenth century there were in Lewis altogether three parish schools and four Society schools.² In 1810 the Presbytery select from three candidates a master for the Grammar School of Stornoway by examining them "in Latin, Greek, and the branches of education necessary to be taught by them."³

It is unnecessary to follow further the details of one district. Enough has been given to show that even in the remotest regions of the Highlands an earnest attempt was being made to supply schools for the use of the people, and that in some at least of these higher instruction was given. It is true that the need was greater than the supply, and that even at the end of the eighteenth century not a few Highland parishes were still without the school to which the Act of 1696 entitled them. In particular little had been done for the education of girls.

The S.P.C.K. at first confined itself to the provision in its schools of reading, writing, arithmetic, and instruction in the Scriptures. They also had certain books translated into Gaelic, including the New Testament, for use in their schools. Later they obtained a further Patent to enable them to apprentice boys to trades and to train girls in sewing, knitting, and spinning. Raining's School was founded by the Society in Inverness in 1757, and continued until quite

¹ *The Statistical Account of 1797.*

² *Records of the Presbytery of Lewis, 1800.*

³ *Ibid.*, 1810.

recent times to draw secondary pupils from the remoter parts of the Highlands and Islands.

Early in the nineteenth century other bodies, desiring to help, entered the Highland field—the Gaelic Societies of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Inverness. At the opening meeting of the Edinburgh Society it was stated that although the S.P.C.K. was maintaining 290 schools at which nearly 16,000 young people were being taught, yet many of the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands could not read in any language. The Society proposed to establish circulating schools that would teach Gaelic reading only. Classes were held during the day for boys and girls, and in the evening for older people. The teacher availed himself of the assistance of the more able boys as monitors. The principle laid down by the Society for the teacher's guidance was that "any boy can teach as much as he knows."¹ The order of study was: The alphabet, syllables, a Gaelic reading book, New Testament and Psalm Book, and, lastly, the Bible in general. Careful directions were provided by the Society for a system of rewards and punishments, with cards of merit or of disgrace which were ceremonially hung round the neck of the well-doers or the delinquents. They also declare that "as beating is the worst, so it is the last means to be used in the correction of a child."² The Societies of Glasgow and Inverness had English taught as well as Gaelic, and some writing and arithmetic.

¹ *The Teacher's Guide in conducting the Gaelic Circulating Schools*, 1815.

² *Ibid.*

There is no doubt that the work of the three societies did much for the education of the people of the Highlands, half of whom in 1822 could not read, and many of whom had no school within convenient reach.

A special committee of the General Assembly had also been charged with the work of increasing "the means of education and religious instruction." The church answered generously to an appeal for funds. The schools established in this way were intended to be rather of the type of the parish schools, and the teacher, where qualified, was encouraged to give instruction in higher subjects. In this case a higher rate of salary was paid. Though the schools were under the control of the Church of Scotland they were open to all denominations. By the time of the Disruption there were 146 schools and 13,000 scholars. The S.P.C.K.¹ in the same year had 150 schools of the ordinary type and 102 spinning schools. But before this time the Committee had extended its sphere by the erection of schools in the poorer districts of the Lowland towns.

At the Disruption the Free Church at once set itself to work to supply the teachers who had "come out," with schools. Within four years over five hundred were in operation. The Ladies' Associations are still gratefully remembered in the Highlands. They helped the people of the most difficult districts

¹ The S.P.C.K. still continues its educational work as the Trust for Education in the Highlands and Islands. It manages a Bursary Scheme and holds examinations in connection with it. But the administration of these bursary funds could now with obvious advantage be transferred to the County Committees of the Highland area.

to get a chance of learning to read the Gaelic Bible, by supplying to them as temporary teachers young students who intended to enter the ministry. The work still survives, and is now helpful in strengthening in some cases the staffs of rural schools so as to make possible some instruction in higher subjects for the more promising among the older scholars.

A detailed report presented in 1866 to the Royal Commission on Education in Scotland gave a full account of the nature of the education then being given in that portion of the Highland area. Briefly put, the Special Commissioner found 226 schools "supported from no less than thirteen different sources, under ten different forms of government (or no government), and employing a staff of 286 teachers, male and female, pupil-teachers, and monitors."¹ The number of scholars on the roll was over 12,000, being almost one-sixth of the population. Not more than half of the school buildings were of a satisfactory nature. One hundred new schools were regarded as necessary to complete the equipment for the Island area, and another hundred for the mainland part of the north-west Highlands. The attendance was irregular, the number of adults unable to read and write disappointingly large, and in particular, the education of the women "sadly neglected." The Commissioner urged earnestly the need of public interposition. This followed a few years later when the Highlands and Islands came to share in the operation of the Education Act of 1872.

¹ *Report on the State of Education in the Hebrides*, Alexander Nicolson, 1866.

VI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE nineteenth century saw many new forms of educational effort. Sunday Schools were born. Scientific research was developed and scientific ideas diffused among the people. Technical education grew rapidly. The Universities renewed their activities, and women at length forced their way into the sacred precincts of the higher learning. Improved methods of primary instruction followed on the institution of a system of professional training for teachers, and a universal provision of schools was taken vigorously in hand by the State. Before the century closed order began to emerge from the chaos of secondary education.

So multifarious are the activities, so varied the lines of effort, that it is necessary to disentangle a few of the more striking for separate and brief discussion.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

The general wave of human feeling that characterised the end of the eighteenth century took many forms: Howard pled that prisoners should be treated humanely, Wilberforce that slaves should be set free. Robert Raikes, in pity of the forlorn condition of the waifs and strays of Gloucester, opened for them on Sunday after-

noons a place of shelter and hired "two or three women at a shilling a day to take care of them and teach them to read the New Testament."¹ Such was the simple beginning of what became the world-wide Sunday School movement.

A year after Raikes had shown the way, a small Sunday School was established by some ladies in Edinburgh and a Sunday School Society was founded there before the century closed. It was in connection with Sabbath School work in the early part of the nineteenth century in the slums of Glasgow that David Stow first had his interest excited in teaching method, and so was led into his great work of developing model schools and establishing a system by which teachers would be trained for their profession.

The provision of Sunday Schools soon became general. We have seen that the practice of having the boys of the ordinary schools march to church and receive religious instruction during part of the day from their masters was discontinued about the same time as Sabbath Schools proper took their rise. But there are signs of a transition time, for in some cases Sunday Schools were under the management of town councils and remained so until recent times.² At the end of the eighteenth century the Town Council of Greenock paid the salary of a Sunday School teacher. Such an arrangement, however, was exceptional. From the beginning of the movement a feature of

¹ Sir Joshua Fitch, "The Sunday School of the Future," in *Educational Aims and Methods*, p. 366.

² Grant, *Burgh Schools*, p. 435.

Sunday School work was the voluntary character of the teaching. At the start efforts were specially directed towards meeting the needs of the ill-cared-for children of the slums of the larger towns, and instruction in religious knowledge was supplemented by the teaching of reading, so that the scholars might be able to read the Bible for themselves. As ordinary school facilities increased, however, this educational aspect of Sunday School work fell into the background, and as the religious part of the aim became predominant, the benefits of the schools were extended to children of all classes.

There can be no doubt that a movement of this kind, which ultimately brought within its scope half-a-million of Scottish children, must have had profound results. The voluntary work of the great army of earnest men and women who constitute the Sabbath School staff of the country is a great moral and religious asset. They come into close contact with the boys and girls who form their classes, and are thus able to bring to bear upon them their direct personal influence. The falling off in Sunday School attendance that has been reported in recent years by various churches is to be regretted. It arises from a variety of causes, among which may be mentioned the greater interest and variety that now mark the method of spending the Sabbath; the better education of the children in the day schools, which with immature minds of a certain type may develop an unfortunate form of intellectual conceit that believes itself to be too advanced for the Sabbath School; and possibly also a readiness to con-

trast the teaching methods of the Sunday School with those that are familiar in the day school, to the disadvantage of the former. Whatever the cause, the result is to be deplored. If the homes were taking upon themselves the work of the Sunday Schools, then a falling away of the latter would not be a matter of regret. But can we say that this is so? Particularly necessary is the work in city areas and in the remote rural districts where old restrictions and conventions are rapidly slackening, and other restraining influences are not taking their place as readily as they should. It is possible—the suggestion is made with diffidence—that the Sabbath School is not realising with sufficient clearness the changed conditions of the time, nor quite understanding what its proper function is. It cannot be better put than in Sir Joshua Fitch's words: "It should be the office of the Sunday School to act as a substitute—even though an imperfect one—for a Christian home, rather than as a supplement to the day school."¹ It is the personal and distinctively religious influence exercised by the teachers that constitutes the strength of the Sunday School.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

The nineteenth century showed considerable activity in school legislation even previous to the passing of the great Act of 1872. The scanty salary provided for the schoolmaster by the law of 1696 was increased, and masters enjoyed in addition a free house and garden. The teacher still looked to the presbytery for his recog-

¹ Sir Joshua Fitch, *The Sunday School of the Future*.

nition, and the supervision of the school fell naturally into the hands of the local parish minister. The signing of the Church of Scotland formula was still an essential preliminary to appointment. Large parishes had an additional school provided. It has been already noted how deficient the provision of schools remained in the remote districts, and the steps taken by the General Assembly and by various voluntary agencies to increase the supply have been already described. Much was achieved in this way, but much still remained to be overtaken. In 1839 inspection commenced, and "grants in aid," when the school was taught efficiently by a recognised teacher, began to be paid. Then came the Disruption of 1843, and the Free Church set to work to provide schools in which its own schoolmasters might teach the children of its own adherents. Unfortunately this duplication of schools came where a school already existed, with the result that the evil of overlapping was introduced, although the dearth of schools in certain districts remained.

Next came the Act of 1861, which again raised the modest salaries of the schoolmasters, and—most important departure—placed the examination of teachers in the hands of the Universities, instead of in those of the Presbyteries. At the same time the signing of the Confession of Faith was replaced by a declaration that nothing would be taught adverse to the faith and doctrine of the Church of Scotland.

The application of Mr. Lowe's Revised Code to Scotland for purposes of inspection did something to improve the teaching given to the general mass of the

children. In the parish schools it had been the practice for the master to concentrate a good deal of his energy and attention on a few of the more able scholars to whom he taught Latin and other higher subjects. Himself often a University man, he found the chief pleasure of his office in sending others of good ability to follow on the road he had trodden. Such a system had many good points, but the defect of it lay in the comparative neglect in many cases of the educational needs of the rank and file of those who sat on the school benches.

Let us see what was the actual result of the ordinary school-teaching provided in the middle of the century. Dr. Wilson, an Inspector with many years' experience of the West of Scotland and the Islands, has left a summary of his impressions for the period mentioned: "The general state of the schools was at the time to which I refer far from satisfactory. The premises were often insufficient, and in many cases quite unsuitable for the purposes of a school. Some in the Western Isles had no desks of any kind; deal boards supported on stones not unfrequently forming the benches, and a rude table the only desk. The supply of suitable books was limited and their condition generally defective; apparatus, properly so-called, was quite unknown in many schools; a few tattered maps, dingy and imbrowned with smoke, and the smallest of blackboards, doing duty when occasion required. The attainments of many of the teachers were slender, and their knowledge of many of the principles of teaching *nil*. In these circumstances the extent of the in-

struction was necessarily limited and its general character unsatisfactory. But to this there was one exception even in the humblest school. I mean the religious instruction. Every child, at all able to read, had a Bible and a Shorter Catechism, and a chapter was read daily by the pupils and carefully explained by the master, while a question in the Catechism was committed to memory. In this way, the children came in time to possess a creditable acquaintance with the historical, if not always the doctrinal, parts of the Holy Scriptures; while, from the sheer force of repetition, the text of the Shorter Catechism was thoroughly, but not always intelligently, committed to memory.”¹

The secular instruction was almost entirely confined to the three R.'s; reading, whilst fluent in the older classes, was seldom expressive; writing was fairly taught; arithmetic was well taught in some schools, but in others neatly written books of solutions lacked the support of intelligent power to solve simple problems at the inspector's visit.

THE ACT OF 1872 AND ITS RESULTS

The insufficient supply of school accommodation in outlying districts was only too faithfully reproduced in the growing towns of Central Scotland. In Glasgow, for example, many children whose parents sought education for them could not be admitted to any school. In some of the crowded schools the classes had to be let out to play in turn so that room could

¹ Dr. Charles E. Wilson on the state of schools in 1852, as given in his *General Report for the Year 1872*.

be found to take the lessons of those remaining. The younger children, if admitted at all, had to be left largely to their own devices, not from any wish on the master's part to neglect them, but simply from his inability to get at all through the work of his congested classes.

The defects both of accommodation and of teaching were made clear by the Education Commission in their report of 1867. It was evident that the State must take upon itself, more definitely than it had yet done, the provision of education for the people of Scotland. A Bill was introduced in 1869 and again in 1871; both failed to pass through the House. At last a Bill by Lord-Advocate Young was successfully piloted through Parliament and became law under the title of *The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872*. It was an Act "to amend and extend the provisions of the law of Scotland on the subject of education, in such manner that the means of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland."¹

Its specially Scottish features will be seen if the points wherein it differed from the corresponding English Act be noted. The titles of the Acts differed significantly: the Scottish was an "Education Act," the English one an "Elementary Education Act." From the beginning the educational activities and responsibilities of School Boards in Scotland included Secondary education. The provision in the Scottish Act was for "the whole people of Scotland." There

¹ Preamble of the Act.

was no thought of the education provided being, as was indicated in the English Revised Code, for the children of "the class who support themselves by manual labour." In Scotland both School Boards and compulsion were universal, while in England they depended on the absence of sufficient voluntary provision and on local by-laws. With three ideas, unknown to England, Scotland had long been familiar in the educational field—compulsion, general assessment for school purposes, and a conscience clause. The new idea of popular control was not difficult of assimilation, for the democratic form of government was well developed in Scotland, extending even into her church courts.

As a result of the Act, 984 School Boards were elected. An interim Board of Education with five members sat in Edinburgh for six years. After making arrangement for the first elections its main function was to see that the Boards provided the additional accommodation required in their districts. It was the first business of the new Boards to find out the number of children of school age within their districts and to estimate the school provision required. Then they had to apply for building-grants in proportion to the school places required. The Board of Education exercised a rigid, and occasionally, one must add, a non-intelligent censorship over the number of school places to be provided. Many of the School Boards in districts with increasing population were in this way prevented from building with a view to future increase, and were in consequence within a few years

saddled with the burden of enlarging schools. In particular, some of the districts since scheduled as "congested" were badly handicapped in this respect in spite of their earnest representations of the need of provision for the future. As building-grants were provided only at first, the cost of later enlargements had to be met from local resources.

A special branch of the Privy Council Office was created to administer the Parliamentary grants for education in Scotland, and the conditions on which grants could be earned were to be embodied in an annual Code submitted to Parliament. It is this right of formulating annually the conditions on which grants are to be awarded that has given the Scotch Education Department its power to shape the framework and mould the details of the school system.

There can be no question that the education of the mass of children made a leap forward as a result of the Act. In the first ten years three million pounds was expended in building new schools, and seven millions in maintenance.¹ As regards the internal work of the schools, for a time "cent per cent" dominated the horizon. On it the Department, through its inspectors, based its judgment of a school's standing; on it Managers based their opinion of a teacher's efficiency. "Payment by results"—every cross so much money gained, every cipher so much money lost—was a wonderfully simple solution of educational assessment. It could be so easily stated,

¹ Sir Henry Craik, *The State and Education*, p. 162.

and could appeal so readily to the meanest intelligence! Higher subjects, where taught, were paid on in the same way—so long as they were restricted to the third stage or under. After the third stage was passed there was nothing for it, if grant were desired—and what School Board did not desire grant?—but to start another fresh subject.

In course of time payment by results with its individual examination, and accompanying crosses and ciphers, disappeared, and block grants depending on average attendance took its place. The weaker pupil, who had been monopolising most of the teacher's attention began again, to his own comfort, to receive only a little more than his fair share, and the brighter pupils once more began to take their proper place in the teacher's perspective. Perhaps the grim mechanical methods of the Seventies and Eighties were a necessary phase of progress towards other and better ways. One can only hope that it was so; for otherwise much unjustifiable vexation of soul for teacher and taught was inflicted.

Amending Acts of various kinds followed up the Act of 1872. Those of 1878 and 1883 improved the compulsory powers of Boards and those which dealt with the employment of children. The old security of *ad vitam aut culpam* that had belonged to the teaching profession and had added to its dignity was no longer offered as an inducement in the Act of 1872. It was found necessary in 1883 to protect teachers by a new Act from hasty and careless procedure in dismissals. The recent Act of 1908 has gone farther,

and in effect has given the dismissed teacher an appeal to the Education Department.

After 1861, as we have seen, teachers were examined by the Universities. In 1872 their examination and certification passed into the hands of the Education Department. This was a retrograde step professionally. Two other courses were open: certification, as formerly, by the Universities, or a register might have been formed on the analogy of the Medical Register, guarded by a council of teachers that would have formed the counterpart of the General Medical Council. Interestingly enough, the examination and certification of teachers was one of the functions allowed to the association of teachers—the Educational Institute of Scotland—by its charter of 1851.¹ It hardly looks now as if teachers were likely ever to come to the full right of holding the keys to their own profession. There remains the other certifying body—the Universities. Some educationists are hopeful of seeing yet a Faculty of Education, and the affixing of the hall-mark of the teaching profession, as of those of law and medicine and divinity, a recognised part of the function of the University. Is it not strange that there should be degrees in Engineering and in Agriculture, but no degree in Education, though the old teaching right of *Magistri Artium* has now been lost?

¹ “To ascertain and certify the qualifications of persons engaged, or desiring to be engaged, in the Education of Youth.”—*Warrant of Royal Charter*, 1851.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

About the beginning of the nineteenth century a number of new schools were founded to provide a type of secondary education in which modern subjects would bulk more largely than they did in the burgh schools. These schools were known as academies, and many of those then founded still survive and are doing good work. They gave greater attention than had been usual to mathematics and science, often also to drawing and French; in many cases they provided instruction in subjects of practical application, such as book-keeping and navigation. In fact, what strikes one most in looking at their programmes is often the extraordinary range of subjects offered, a contrast to the narrow curriculum of the old grammar school. But the payment of fees by separate subjects probably helped to preserve the scholars from over-pressure.

An interesting effort was made from 1832 to encourage the teaching of higher subjects in the rural schools of the north-east of Scotland by the administration of the Dick Bequest. The trust was used to secure a supply of University men as parish schoolmasters by offering an addition to the usual salary. The masters were appointed after a stringent examination, and the efficiency of their teaching was tested by periodical inspection. From time to time as the general progress of school provision and of State grants necessitated it, changes were made in the scheme, and its useful purpose of retaining good men

in rural schools by supplementing their salaries was still carried out.

It is agreed on all hands that the operations of the Bequest had an excellent effect not only on the quality of the elementary education provided, but also in the steady supply of lads of ability as University entrants. Much attention was from the first given to higher subjects; the picked pupils of the school received instruction in Latin, Greek, and mathematics. "To the poorest and most neglected," says Professor Laurie, for many years the official Visitor of the schools, "this education is offered. Is there any visitor of schools in the world who is able to say, as your Visitor can say, that he has examined in Virgil and in Greek boys on the pauper roll?"¹

The first effect on these schools, as on those of Scotland generally, of the Act of 1872 was a slackening in the teaching of higher subjects. After the lapse of a few years, however, partly owing to the changes in the regulations of the Bequest and partly to a recovery of the teachers from the first effects of the Act, the old traditions were re-established with happy results.

For Scotland as a whole in the region of Secondary education the Eighties can only be described as a period of chaos: the Higher Class schools taken over under the Act felt the need of funds, and the Academies under trustees similarly languished. The cities, notably Edinburgh, owing to a wealth of educational endowments, had a good provision of Secondary in-

¹ Prof. S. S. Laurie, *Report to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest*, 1890.

struction. In rural schools, outside the north-eastern counties, Secondary work depended on the qualifications and individual tastes of the masters. The difficult work of bringing system out of this chaos began when the Education Department was reorganised in 1885 and Mr. Craik made Secretary. The work so happily set agoing by Sir Henry Craik is being carried on vigorously by his successor, Sir John Struthers. Since that time the inspection of Secondary schools has been systematised and annual written examinations of an elaborate kind instituted, leading to the issue to fit pupils of a Leaving Certificate. The passes at this examination now serve as the entrance qualification to the Universities for two-thirds of their students. The examination is shared in not only by the old Higher Class schools and endowed schools, but also by the Higher Grade schools which are doing Secondary work, whilst participating in the ordinary Code grants. The gradual steps in the development of this national examination, carrying with it a State certificate, need not be detailed here; but this written test, combined with independent inspection, has had an effect in raising the standard of our Secondary schools that can hardly be overestimated. As it has been accompanied by increasing assistance from the State in the form of grants, the defects revealed have had a reasonable chance of being remedied. Buildings have been altered and enlarged, equipment improved, the staffs increased, and teachers' salaries raised, with admirable effects on school efficiency.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The common arts and handicrafts of everyday life have always been learned outside the schools. The apprenticeship to a skilled artisan in the olden days gave, and in our times the period of training spent in workshop or factory continues to give, to young learners the necessary skill of hand and practical knowledge of the processes of the craft to be learned. It is not this that is connoted by "technical education," though the term is often used loosely in that sense. In its correct use it is meant to indicate the study of the scientific principles that underlie the industrial arts, a study which will enable the operative to do his work with understanding, to see the reasons for the traditional, or the new, methods of the processes he applies.

Technical instruction in this sense is little more than a century old. This is difficult to realise when we consider its present development, with its provision everywhere of schools and colleges, and its large expenditure of public and private funds. To Glasgow belongs the honour of having made the first effort to give technical education. Anderson's Institution, founded in 1796, is the mother of all Technical Colleges. It was not only the first institution to provide instruction in the scientific principles underlying industrial applications, but it was the first¹ to make provision for the systematic instruction of artisans in evening classes—the germ of all future Mechanics' Institutions—and the first to admit women on equal

¹ The honour is shared by the "Birmingham Brotherly Society."

terms to all the privileges that were open to men.¹ It is interesting to note that such a new departure originated with a University Professor, though it must also be mentioned that it was done in spite of the hostility of his colleagues, and that the Institution was founded at his own expense.

It is also of interest to remember that while Anderson was Professor of Natural Philosophy, James Watt, in the teeth of the opposition of the Guild of Hammermen, was finding shelter within the University workshop, and it was as University mechanician that he received from Professor Anderson the model of Newcomen's engine which, with Watt's addition of the separate condenser, has revolutionised the industries of the world.

It is not necessary to trace throughout the century the remarkable career of the institution which Anderson founded, the provision of popular lectures on science, the succession of remarkable men who were associated with it, and the honourable place it was able to take in the development of the science of chemistry. Most important is it that it has never lost the close contact with industries and artisans that marked its earliest conception. The present great teaching institution, the Technical College of Glasgow, which represents the old Andersonian, preserves what was best in the old tradition, and though it has large Day Classes its greatest honour even now is that it instructs in its Evening Classes—many of them in work of University level—five thousand men and

¹ Prof. A. H. Sexton, *The First Technical College*, p. 12.

women who during the day are engaged in the practical work of the great industries of the city. Noticeable also is the benefit it receives from those who direct these industries, in the form of advice and management, particularly of the various classes in Chemistry, Metallurgy, Naval Architecture, and Engineering—Civil, Mechanical, Electrical, and Mining. It is matter of congratulation to find that the College is now housed in buildings worthy of the work it has done and is doing.

For the south-east of Scotland similar work is being accomplished by the Heriot-Watt College in Edinburgh. The evening department here also is a large one, having some three thousand students. Aberdeen and Dundee are also following suit, the latter appropriately giving much attention to the textile industries in which so many of its people are engaged.

In all four centres a praiseworthy effort has been made to correlate the work of evening continuation classes with that of the central institution, and so to provide that the course of instruction shall be continuous and properly graded. A hopeful feature, also, of the work is the increasing willingness of those at the head of large industrial concerns to encourage their workers to take advantage of these technical classes, and to make special arrangements to facilitate their attendance.

Even a slight consideration will show that the artisan's need of such technical training becomes increasingly greater with the changing conditions of industry. In the early days of handicraft each appren-

tice, trained under a skilled craftsman, acquired the power of turning out a completed article. The introduction of manufacture caused the complete article to be produced by a number of workmen who each did a part. In the present conditions of industry, where the whole process is the work of machinery, which requires from the worker only supervision and occasional correction, there is obviously great need for supplementary instruction that will enable the workman to get hold of the underlying principles and let him have a general view of the whole process. "Unless the apprentice exerts himself and studies privately or takes advantage of evening classes, as a rule he grows up an uninstructed man and an indifferent workman."¹ Here, then, is the function of technical education—to remedy this defect, to fill up this gap, in the training of the youthful artisan, to save him in his daily work from lop-sided development and unintelligent outlook.

It is necessary to turn shortly to what was a marked feature of the second half of the century—the increase of opportunities for the study of science by the general mass of the people. Their awakening interest in science and scientific thought was met by a provision of scientific instruction. In 1836 a national school of design was established in London; in 1841 assistance was given in the establishment of schools of design in various manufacturing centres throughout the kingdom, with annual grants towards their main-

¹ Professor Henry Dyer, *The Evolution of Industry*, p. 189.

tenance. Within ten years seventeen branch schools had been formed in, among other places, Glasgow and Paisley. In 1853 the scope was extended from art to science, and three years later the work was transferred from the control of the Board of Trade to that of the newly constituted Education Department. Various experiments followed in establishing and conducting classes and in giving help by grants. The Whitworth Scholarships to aid young men in acquiring the knowledge requisite in mechanical engineering were founded in 1868. Grants towards practical laboratory training were begun in 1870.

The operations of the Science and Art Department soon produced throughout the country a network of evening classes for instruction in science. These were formed not only in towns, but in most outlying villages and country districts. The teachers were remunerated by the grants paid in proportion to the number of passes, the class of these, and the grade taken. In towns, laboratory instruction in such subjects as chemistry and, in a manufacturing centre like Glasgow, in mineralogy and metallurgy, was provided. The range of subjects was large; there was sufficient variety to satisfy the most inquiring minds or the most diverse tastes. A first-class pass in the Advanced Stage of a subject constituted a teaching qualification for the elementary stage, so that the supply of teachers was readily kept up.

It has been the custom in certain quarters to sneer at the work of these science classes. Doubtless they had many defects, not the least being the predominance

of grants and examinations, and the want of any organised grouping of the subjects, yet it is not to be denied that these classes did more than any other agency to diffuse a knowledge of scientific facts and theories among the mass of the people, and this knowledge was brought within reach of their own homes. Nor was the solitary student whose only teacher was the text-book excluded: he was able to take the examinations and secure certificates and prizes in the same way as the internal student, though no grant was paid on his behalf. Instruction in science and drawing, in connection with the South Kensington Department, was also given to the pupils of day schools and corresponding grants paid. Like benefits were extended also to the students in training colleges.

In 1898 Scotland's share of the Science and Art grant was transferred to the Scotch Education Department. Drawing and nature-study are now an essential part of the instruction in primary schools. Science and drawing have also become an integral part of the curriculum of secondary schools. In the towns, for the "heterogeneous collection" of evening classes, the Department has substituted under the Continuation Scheme "a completely organised system framed on broad and simple lines and adapted to the needs of all sorts of students."¹ The defect of the system lies in its practically complete failure to provide continuation work in the remoter rural districts. The old evening schools and the old science classes which, in

¹ Explanatory Memorandum to *A Selection of Circular Letters of the Scotch Education Department, 1898-1904*, p. 14.

spite of all their defects of "farming out" and the rest, still kept alive some kind of intellectual effort on the part of adolescents, have disappeared over entire counties, and nothing whatever has taken their place. Here is one of the most serious gaps in our present educational system, one already too long in existence, which calls clamantly for remedy.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

It might be supposed that the analogy of apprenticeship to trades and crafts would have suggested at an early stage of educational history that teachers ought to undergo some systematic training for the work of their profession. Such does not seem to have been the case. The training of teachers is less than a century old. Glasgow seems again, as in the case of technical education, to have led the van. David Stow's Sabbath School in the Salt Market paved the way for the establishment in 1824 of "a week-day normal training school." Older pupils were soon added, and arrangements were made for training students who wished to acquire Stow's system. "This was in effect the first normal college in the kingdom."¹ The interest of the Glasgow Educational Society in the movement led to the provision in 1836 of new and larger premises at Dundas Vale.

Stow's model schools were graded, as the Scotch primary schools are still, into Infants (five to seven years), Juniors (seven to ten), and Seniors (ten to

¹ Sir Joshua Fitch, Article "Stow" in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

thirteen). Boys and girls were taught together, as Stow thought that the presence of either sex had a good effect on the other. Attention was given to training the child on all sides of his nature—mental, moral, physical. The use of the gallery with its simultaneous answering, and of the playground, were also features of his system. But the part of his system on which he laid most stress was the moral and Scripture lessons which formed a regular feature of the work.

The intention of Stow and the founders of the Normal School was that it should be national and undenominational, but at a later stage the condition was attached to certain Privy Council grants that were necessary for its maintenance, that it should be handed over to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

In Edinburgh the idea of training was suggested in 1826, and was partially carried out in one of the Assembly's schools. A Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the matter. It reported that teachers should be "trained both to a knowledge of the branches taught and to the actual business of teaching."¹ The Privy Council promised the same amount of assistance as had been given to Glasgow, and the Committee was able to report to the Assembly of 1845 that the building was completed and occupied. The first Rector appointed was a clergyman. The

¹ *Report of the General Assembly's Education Committee, 1845, p. 12.*

Glasgow Normal School was taken over by the church in the same year.¹

Meanwhile the Disruption had taken place, and Stow and most of his colleagues were obliged to leave the Dundas Vale school. To receive them and their students the Free Church erected new premises in the Cowcaddens, and over this Stow presided until his death in 1864. He is a man to whom Scottish education owes much.

The same duplication of Normal colleges took place in Edinburgh. In that city there was also founded in 1850 an Episcopal Training College. At first intended for men-students, it was in 1867 converted into a college for women, and in 1877 transferred to Dalry House. Later two training colleges in Aberdeen, and still later one for Catholic students in Glasgow, completed the provision. All were denominational as far as the appointments to their staffs were concerned, but in later years there was practically no denominational feeling of preference on the students' part, as between Church of Scotland and Free Church colleges. St. George's, a Training College for Secondary teachers, has been at work in Edinburgh since 1886, but it has been in the habit of seeking certificates of practical skill for its students from the University of Cambridge.

The Pupil-Teacher system in England grew out of the monitorial systems of Bell and Lancaster. As a recognised method of staffing it dates from 1846. In Scotland the Pupil-Teacher had a five years' apprentice-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

ship. Later it was reduced to four, and still later a shortened period of two years was allowed. The Pupil-Teacher then underwent an Entrance Examination, and if he passed high enough he was allowed to enter the Training College. If not, he went on teaching. The illogicality of, in effect, dubbing a candidate as too bad to be trained, but good enough to teach, was continued until a few years ago. The Pupil-Teacher system probably turned out better teachers than students. As the greater part of the time was devoted to teaching, even those of moderate aptitude acquired a power of handling a class. But the small amount of time available for lessons was as a rule a severe handicap. Especially from smaller schools in the remote districts the Pupil-Teachers were at a great disadvantage in the entrance examination.

The time spent in the Training College was two years, but three years in the case of students who combined University work with their training course, an arrangement recommended by Dr. Kerr in 1865 and adopted some years later.¹ The large number of masters, even of those who are engaged in elementary teaching, who have taken a University course, is a striking feature of the teaching profession in Scotland.

THE UNIVERSITIES

The Scottish Universities were reconstituted by the Act of 1858. Commissioners were appointed under the Act to carry out important changes. The manage-

¹ Dr. Kerr, *Scottish Education*, p. 296.

ment of the University was committed to two bodies—the Senatus, consisting of the professors, and the University Court, made up of the Rector (elected by the students), the Principal, and four assessors. In Edinburgh, where the Town Council had been the managers, the Lord Provost was added to the Court, and in Glasgow the Dean of Faculties. The later Act of 1889 increased the number of members in the Courts and included in each case the Provost. The Courts as now constituted act as the business management, whilst the Senate charges itself with the internal discipline and with educational affairs. In addition to the Senate and the Court an important body constituted by the Act of 1858 is the General Council, which consists of the whole body of graduates, has two statutory meetings yearly, and makes representations to the Court on any matters that concern the interests of the University.

Other great changes were made in the universities by the Commissioners: the bursary system was rearranged, the order in which the various subjects were to be studied was left optional, with certain restrictions, arrangements were made for the appointment of professors' assistants and for degree examiners, and new regulations were made for graduation both in Arts and in Medicine.

The whole effect on University life and work was salutary: fresh energy was put forth, management was improved, the number of students rose, the standard of University scholarship improved, and graduation again became the natural crown of a University course.

Among the new chairs founded some time after, were those of Education at St. Andrews and at Edinburgh (1876). Glasgow and Aberdeen have not yet professorships in this subject, although they have of late years established lectureships.

One of the difficulties in the Universities was the existence of junior classes which were doing work at a school level; but until there could be a more general and adequate provision of secondary schools throughout the country it was not thought advisable to insist on an entrance examination. To do so, it was felt, might exclude earnest students likely to profit by University attendance, who had no opportunity of securing a sufficient school preparation. The Commissioners of 1889, however, expressed their opinion that the junior classes should not be looked upon as other than a temporary expedient. It was in 1892 that the present Preliminary Examination was instituted, and no student allowed to graduate until he had attended three years after passing the examination. The 1889 Commission introduced greater liberty in the selection of subjects for graduation in Arts. But the number of subjects, seven, a quaint survival of Trivium and Quadrivium, was still maintained for the pass degree. Faculties of Science to suit each University were introduced. In 1884 a new body came into existence—the Students' Representative Council. It was felt by the students that some regular means of communication was required between them and the Senate and Court. On their own initiative they held meetings and appointed representatives, and the Council

now forms a recognised and useful part of University machinery.

The eight years' work of the Commissioners, with the Universities Committee of the Privy Council as a court of appeal, dealt with all aspects of the University arrangements: new chairs and new lectureships were established, regulations for degrees amended, the medical course lengthened, the bursary scheme altered, research and post-graduate work furthered, and women admitted to graduation—all important changes, calculated to benefit the higher education of the country.

VII

RECENT MOVEMENTS AND CURRENT QUESTIONS

IN approaching the discussion of current educational movements one is met on the threshold by the difficulty that invariably confronts any attempt to study contemporary events. The wood can hardly be seen for the trees. The seeming importance of a question may have little relation to its essential value in the evolution of a system, but may arise instead only from superficial and temporary accidents. For a spectator who is a contemporary of the movements he desires to observe, the task of detachment is a serious one, and the difficulty of placing events in their true perspective wellnigh insuperable, however much the observer may try to free himself from the prepossessions and partialities of the moment.

What makes the disentanglement of educational problems particularly difficult at the present time is the overwhelming clamour of voices—propagandist, critical, explanatory, or defensive; expert, amateur or ignorant—that surrounds every social question of the present hour.

Every man has views on education, for has not every man been more or less educated himself? To

his profit or pain he has passed through a school, and claims that he is in consequence entitled to express an opinion on questions of school management and school method. To make matters worse, managers and teachers, departmental officials and statesmen, have each their own angle of view, which affects materially their attitude towards educational questions.

Admitting then the impossibility of any particular observer hoping to free himself from every *eidolon*, it may be permissible to express one's views on the current questions with decision, but also, let us hope, without dogmatism.

Five main questions seem to call for discussion : (1) recent changes in the primary schools—in administrative demands, in the improvement of teaching methods, and in the wider view of the school's relation to the child and to society ; (2) the very successful effort that has been made to organise and to finance the secondary schools of the country ; (3) the rapid development, encouraged by the Education Department, of the Central Institutions of Art, Science, Agriculture, and Commerce, and the corresponding forward movement of the Universities ; (4) the new system launched by the Education Department for the training and certification of teachers ; and (5) the changes brought about in the administration of all grades of education—partly by legislation, but even more by Departmental Minute.

When a primary school of to-day is compared with that of twenty years ago, the first thing that strikes one is the increased number and variety of the subjects taught. Now as then, of course, the first effort of the teacher is directed towards the mastery of the three arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic; and properly so, for with these arts acquired, the avenues of all knowledge may be said to be opened. But other subjects have been added giving a richer and fuller aspect to school training. Drawing is taught to every pupil, and taught now by contact with real objects of man's or Nature's fashioning. Various mediums are used, and, in especial, the delight of colour has been added, an innovation that would have rejoiced the heart of the child of twenty years ago. Individual interpretations of the tones and tints of beautiful things have taken the place of wiry-lined copies of wiry-lined anthemions. In every school physical exercises of a rational kind, based on Ling's system, are now compulsory. The old barren object-lessons—to-day on a piece of coal, to-morrow on a camel—have been supplanted by an orderly series of connected lessons on the natural phenomena of the world in which the children move daily—with its changes of weather, its flowers, butterflies, and birds, its passing seasons, and its human industries. School gardens have sprung up mysteriously, even from the baked asphalt of city playgrounds. Recreative reading and the memorising of beautiful passages of prose and poetry receive more time and more sympathetic treatment than in the old days. The busy hands,

too, that were a source of embarrassment to their owners and of annoyance to the conscientious teacher have been pressed into the educational service. Kindergarten gifts convey unconsciously, through pleasant play, ideas of form and number. Paper, cardboard, and clay are manipulated with pleasure and profit. The older boys learn the delights of handling saw and plane and chisel. Even the needle-work which the girls of twenty years ago had in abundance has changed its character and has ceased to be a torture of stitches incredibly small and impossibly uniform. Instead, the younger ones make little garments for their dolls, and the older ones delight in blouse-making and the sewing-machine.

Other old subjects have shared in the vitalising: geography consists no longer of lists of names to be memorised, but has become instead a series of exercises in intelligence and observation; history is no longer strings of dates but a revivification of old times and manners, and of the great men and women of the past. Even the three R's themselves, though still the main staple of early education, are approached by more attractive and more intelligent methods. Teachers have learned better how to keep up the interest of a subject and to anticipate its difficulties. They have pleasanter ways of control; discipline, without being less effective, is less severe than of old, and pains are taken to make the road of knowledge smooth walking for little feet.

There is, of course, some risk in it all. There is just a chance that some teachers may err on the side

of doing too much for their pupils, that the old independence and power of attack that the former system—partly through its defects—encouraged, may be lost. The use of cog-wheel railways over the Hill Difficulty may lead to the atrophy of the pilgrims' limbs. Good teaching method is of great importance, but, after all, it is learning rather than teaching that matters. Education must be a process from within rather than from without.

Accompanying the changes for the better in methods of teaching has been the introduction of wiser ways of examining. Inspection is no longer an attempt to appraise educational and moral results in terms of £ s. d., that extraordinary device of the commercial British mind that was for years the wonder of foreign educators. Individual examination and payment by results have been supplanted by inspection and block grants based on attendance. Much still remains to be done in this direction; can anyone say, for example, why there should be a payment of 18s. for a child under seven, of 20s. for a child between seven and ten, and of 22s. for one over ten? Is it that infants are less valuable? Or more easy to teach? With the disappearance of the standards more freedom is left to the teacher as to the matter and manner of the teaching. This is a step in the right direction; for no teacher can be expected to encourage individuality and initiative in his pupils if no scope is afforded in which he may himself exercise these qualities. The freedom,

however, presumably granted by recent Codes, is occasionally more apparent than real. It is said that in some districts, and with some individuals, the inspector has become a new Code. This, if it exists, is bad. As it is necessary that a teacher, most of all a strong teacher, should carefully refrain from imposing his personality on his pupils, even more will a wise inspector leave room for the teacher's individuality, welcome originality and intelligent nonconformity, and in the case even of those who seem to him somewhat old-fashioned in their methods, whether from want of ability or from the rigidity that sometimes comes with age, realise that the ideally best method is not necessarily the best for every teacher.

A notable feature of the new outlook is the greater attention that is being given to the pupil's physical well-being. Better lighted and better ventilated classrooms, better systems of heating, the provision of more floor- and air-space, and of more comfortable types of desks, are all symptoms of the movement. Still another is furnished by the recent legislative provision of school medical officers. As the discovery of defects will not of itself bring about improvement, many persons expect to see this followed up by school clinics, that will supplement State inspection by State treatment. Meanwhile, various charitable agencies have set themselves to feed hungry children and to clothe the naked ones. It is interesting to see that even persons who on principle object to any parent being relieved, under any circumstances, of these primitive duties protest but weakly when the hungry and naked child

is presented to them. The general feeling throughout society at the present moment is in favour of giving every child a chance of a fair start. The present wave of public sentiment towards the poor and the wretched seems to be concentrating on the children as the surest means of effecting social improvement.

The regard in which schools are now held as a means of setting on foot new social and economic movements is another interesting indication. Do the authorities wish to prevent rural depopulation? Establish courses with a rural bias in country schools. Do the medical experts wish to improve the dentition of the race? Introduce tooth-brush drill into the schools. Are the women not making the homes as comfortable as they might? Give school training in housecraft. Are we appalled by infantile mortality in the slum areas of certain cities? Give the schoolgirls instruction in the care of babies.

The recently awakened regret that so many boys were entering "blind-alley" employments on leaving school has led to a closer correlation between the school and employers. Bureaux have been established in many towns to bring boys and their parents into more intelligent touch with the labour market, to advise them as to the best forms of employment, and to place at the disposal of the employers the teachers' knowledge of the qualifications and aptitudes of the boys and girls about to leave school.

One of the difficulties of school organisation has been to fix the point in a child's school career at which the study of secondary subjects might most conveniently begin. The Department have come to the conclusion that this should be done about the age of twelve years, and they have established a Qualifying Examination intended to test the fitness of the primary school pupils for entering on secondary work, or, in the case of those whose circumstances compel them to leave school at fourteen years of age, for passing into Supplementary Classes.

In the latter there is to be provided a thorough revision and consolidation of elementary work already done, and the training is to be given "a practical turn towards those affairs of life on which they are about to enter."¹ The general aim of the classes is that the pupils should form habits "of applying what they know, finding out what they wish to know, and expressing what they have found."² In these Supplementary Classes the tendency most strongly marked at present is towards greater use being made of practical work as a means of training—gardening, woodwork, cookery, laundry-work, housewifery. It cannot be doubted that there is scope for a series of educational experiments to test the value of these practical subjects as an instrument for developing intelligence, sharpening observation, and cultivating judgment.

As the Act of 1908 retains the pupil in school until the "fixed date" succeeding his fourteenth birthday, there is reasonable time for the supplementary course

¹ *Selection of Circular Letters*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*

to exercise its educative effects. School Boards have the right to confer exemption, in exceptional circumstances and with conditions of further instruction attached, after the age of twelve. The larger Boards have exercised this power very sparingly, and the right is one which the Education Department jealously supervises.

Finally, enabling powers have been conferred on Boards by the 1908 Act for imposing by means of by-laws compulsory attendance at Continuation Schools on youths of both sexes up to their seventeenth year. The importance of the adolescent period and its possibilities have at last begun to be recognised.

In secondary education the current movements are towards the completion of the system of organisation that began in 1885. No one who regards carefully the advance our secondary schools have made during the last quarter of a century can fail to be impressed by the skilful way in which the movement has been promoted and guided by the Education Department. Criticism has been levelled at certain details of their work, and changes have in some cases followed; but where there has been any considerable departure from the ideal that lies deep down in the national consciousness and which has worked itself out through the centuries, the Department have quickly noticed their mistake and modified their policy. The attempt, for example, to engraft on the Scottish system, Higher Grade schools "predominantly scientific or commercial"

was bound to fail. It was probably produced by the pressure on the Department of certain grants earmarked by the Treasury; but not even the bribe of increased payment could induce wise managers to take it up. The movement was abandoned, the Intermediate Course substituted, and the old humanistic training, with a reasonable admixture of *realien*, restored. Again, on the introduction of Supplementary Courses, it looked for a moment as if the old parish school, far removed from centres, was to lose its ancient right to teach higher subjects to selected scholars. In this case the trouble was caused probably rather by over-zealous inspectors, who misunderstood the Department's intentions. Certainly the diagram of *Educational Organisation in Scotland* that was issued with the selection of Circular Letters (1898-1904) showed full recognition of such work when done by the smaller schools.

The completion of the organisation of the secondary schools is proceeding apace. The schools have been graded, in a prefatory note to the Code, according to the length of their course and the nature of the certificate which marks its successful completion. Intermediate schools are those which have a three years' course and keep their pupils until the age of fifteen to sixteen years. Secondary schools have a five or six years' course and keep their pupils as a rule until the age of eighteen. In the former the Intermediate Certificate marks the satisfactory completion of a well-balanced course of secondary education extending over at least three years and including instruction in English, Mathe-

matics, Science, Drawing, and at least one language other than English. In the latter class of schools the Intermediate Certificate is taken about the middle of the course, and a further course of study extending over two or three years is satisfactorily completed by the award of a full Leaving Certificate, which also in most cases admits to the University. The value of both certificates is now recognised by parents, but would undoubtedly be greatly enhanced if a certain number of Civil Service vacancies were reserved for those who held them.

The introduction of the Junior Student system has been most ingeniously used as a lever to secure better equipment and better staffing for secondary education in the schools—whether Higher Class or Higher Grade—that have been recognised as Junior Student centres. The Department has also skilfully made use of the Junior Student Course as a means of adding a year to the secondary course. The high standard of the Intermediate Certificate Examination is in many cases adding another year to the Intermediate Certificate Course. It is nominally a three years' course, but many pupils find that it needs four years of preparation. The leaving age from a Scotch Secondary School is no longer as it once was, sixteen years, but is now for most pupils eighteen or over. The Department have long envied the lengthy course pursued in German schools, and appeals to parents in the annual report having failed, success could be obtained only by other means. That the leaving age is still steadily rising is a proof of the success of the Department's new method.

The present difficulty with which the Department is concerned is the arrangement of Post-Intermediate courses. Their first attempt has been the issue of the recent circular regulating Junior Student courses. Here, owing to the special grants, they were more logically in a position to dictate. But the effort has been ill received by the teaching profession. The ideas underlying it that the first purpose of this State subvention is the provision of teachers for elementary schools, and that there is no need that these should have a University course, are unpalatable, particularly the latter. The even more thorny problem of the courses allowable or desirable for ordinary secondary pupils, and the relation of these and of the Leaving Certificate to the Preliminary Examination of the University Joint Board, is one which is still exercising the Department. They have had the wisdom to give the various teachers' organisations an opportunity for conference and presentation of their views.¹

An important bursary scheme for the counties and the greater burghs has brought nearer Knox's ideal that every lad of ability, whether rich or poor, should be educated "so that the commonwealth may have comfort by him." But just here a safeguard is at present required which Knox was shrewd enough to

¹ Since the above was written the Department have issued in Circular 340 their new regulations for Leaving Certificates. The certificate will normally be secured by a pass in Higher English, in the Higher Grade of a language other than English, and in Higher Mathematics or Science, together with satisfactory work in a fourth subject, the study of which has been continued throughout the course.

see the need of. Are all pupils who are being given at present a secondary education by means of a State subsidy worthy of it or likely to prove profitable to the commonweal? We have been much concerned to secure for our youth an opportunity of stepping on to this secondary-education ladder; have we also had the wisdom to realise that for a certain proportion of those who start to climb opportunity will have to be given for their *stepping off*? Whenever it is certain that their climbing power is exhausted, it should be made easy for them to leave school and find their proper work elsewhere.

A noteworthy change has been made in the method of appointing bursars. This is no longer done by competitive examination between pupils from different schools, a system which gave the preference to pupils from schools taught by able teachers. Instead, the ideal towards which the County Committees are working is to give one or more bursaries to each school.¹ There is at present some tendency to secure uniformity by forcing boys and girls to Centre Schools at the early age of twelve or thirteen years. This practice is heartily to be condemned. No educational benefit can at that age compensate for the loss of parental supervision and home influence. On this point *The First Book of Discipline* has wise words: "The youthheid and tender children sall be nurischit and brocht up in virtue, in presence of thair freindis; by whose good attendance many inconvenientis may be

¹ When may we expect to see the same principle of allocation applied by the University authorities to secondary schools?

avoided, in the which the youth commonlie fallis, eather by too muche libertie, which thai have in strange and unknowin plasis, while thai cannot rule them selfis; or ellis for lacke of gude attendance, and of such necessiteis as thair tender aige requireth."

For Secondary Schools there is the same danger ahead as has been pointed out for Primary—the imposition on the schools of the personality—the word is used advisedly—of the Department. No school and no teacher can do well the work of education without freedom, power of initiative, independence of judgment, individuality. Over-zeal, even for the best of ends, on the part of officials may seriously damage these qualities. Uniformity of system may be gained at too great a cost. It is true that a certain amount of unity must be secured; anarchy is not freedom. But equally important is it to preserve variety amid the unity. Variety of management, variety of schools, variety of aim, variety of curriculum, variety of method—these are things to conserve tenaciously in our secondary schools. It was necessary to get out of chaos, but our cosmos need not be geometric.

In the discussion of Technical Education it was shown that at the head of the Continuation Class system stood the Technical College. The development of these Central Institutions continues to receive much attention from the Department. In addition to

those already discussed others are being developed—for Art, for Commerce, for Agriculture, for Navigation. It is intended not only that the Continuation Classes should feed these, but that the teaching staff of the Central Institution should directly influence the syllabuses and methods of the subsidiary classes of their area. The central institutions themselves are intended “to provide for work at the University level” and to develop facilities for research. The future has still to see the working out of the relation of these colleges to the University of their area.

At the same time much remains to be done to improve the Universities themselves. They need to be brought into closer contact with the schools which act as their feeders, and they need to become leaders of the schools, instead of, as at present, somewhat of a dead-weight, which in a sense the schools have to push forward before they can themselves advance. Can it be denied that for some years past the schools have been more progressive than the Universities? There is no desire to minimise the value of the progressive work being done by individual members of the professoriate. Every Scottish student cherishes one or more of these in his memory with lasting thankfulness. But this need not blind our eyes to certain disappointing general features of inertia in some regions of University life and work. The medical schools of the Universities lead the medical thought of the country. Why cannot the Universities as a whole be more of a living influence than they are, be more directly in touch with the movement of national

life and more sensitive to the thoughts of the age before these become fully conscious of themselves?

Improvements in educational detail also are needed in the Universities; better methods of teaching, smaller classes, improved methods of laboratory instruction, and more encouragement of post-graduate research. Let the Civil Service age of superannuation, accompanied by generous provision of pensions, be applied to the professoriate. Anachronisms, whether of methods or of persons, should be removed.

That it is good for the Universities to retain their liberty most people will agree; but the Universities must realise that they have a price to pay. Liberty involves responsibility. The right to freedom carries with it the necessity for progress. If any institution shows that it fails to realise this, then it becomes a question whether such is fit to remain free.

It looked for a time as if the recent increased grant from the Government was to be accompanied with some measure of control by the Education Department. The Universities themselves evidently preferred the control of a presumably ignorant Treasury to that of a too effectively informed Education Department. Perhaps they may find in the long run that the Treasury control has drawbacks. Meantime, another control is being steadily established which also threatens the autonomy of the Universities—that exercised through the purse by the Carnegie Trustees. One wonders gravely what the ultimate effect of this Trust may be on our Universities and our students. Even with the most admirable inten-

tions, is it desirable that the Trustees should be in a position, by means of ear-marked grants, to dictate the lines of advance that are to be followed? The payment of students' fees many persons regard with even greater distrust. The number of beneficiaries is increasing. In 1901 at the four Universities 2684 availed themselves of the Trust; last year (1909-10), 3823. In 1901 £34,960 was paid in fees; last year, £48,313.¹ When one remembers that previous to the operations of the Trust, students similar to these found their own fees, the question seems at least worthy of discussion whether the new way is better than the old. Would it not have been better if the fund had been one from which a poor student could borrow, on his own promise to repay, what he needed to carry him through his course? One indirect result of this fee-paying has been to produce the unedifying spectacle of the Universities "tripping each other" in their eagerness to raise their class fees. It is now more difficult than it was before the Trust was founded for a student who wishes to pay his own way to do so. At present it looks as if the demand for the fixing of a composite fee might be made an excuse for a second rise in class fees.²

It has been already pointed out that the average entrance age for our Universities is now nineteen. This at first seems all to the good. Certainly the balance of benefit is great for the University work itself. But

¹ *Ninth Report of the Carnegie Trust.*

² This danger seems now to have been obviated, thanks partly at least to the stand made by the General Councils.

a study of the statistics will show that in spite of the greatly increased facilities for secondary education, the number of men students at the Universities is not increasing. Even with the admission of women the increase in the total number of students during the last ten years has been slight. In 1901 St. Andrews had 435 students, in 1909, 571; Glasgow for the same years, 2041 and 2653; Aberdeen, 831 and 1007; and Edinburgh, 2872 and 3075. Taking the four Universities together, there were, in 1901, 6179 matriculated students and in 1909, 7306. The significance of this seems to be that those who are to enter callings other than the professions are no longer able, owing to their prolonged attendance at school, to take a further course at a University. If this is the explanation, it involves a serious national loss. Nothing could be better for the culture of the nation than to have among the ranks of its business men, its farmers, and its organisers of industry, a leaven of University graduates.

The improvement in secondary teaching and the institution of the Leaving Certificate and Preliminary Examinations are sending up students greatly better prepared than they were twenty years ago. It is probably not far off the mark to say that many schoolboys now, on leaving school, could take the degree examinations in Latin, Greek, and mathematics of thirty years ago. The better state of preparation on entering should have much improved the teaching and standard of scholarship in our Universities. Further, the age of entrance, as already shown, has risen. There are men

still living who entered the University at twelve years of age; the average student of the present day enters at nineteen. Both of these changes are favourable to a higher standard of teaching. One wonders to what extent the new possibilities have been realised by our University professors and lecturers.

Among the present movements that attract attention the new method of training teachers calls for mention. The old Pupil-Teacher system has been superseded. Future teachers are to be drawn from the pupils of secondary schools and are to receive a full six years' course of training in secondary subjects with a restricted amount of practical training in teaching superadded. No specialisation is attempted until the Intermediate Certificate has been obtained. The candidate then seeks nomination through the County or Burgh Committee within whose bounds his parents reside. The number of nominations allowed for any one county is strictly limited, the number being determined by a careful calculation made by the Department of the number of new teachers needed yearly to supply the waste of the profession and the advancing demands of the schools. The nominated students, selected on account of their possession of the qualities that will fit them to be teachers, spend three years at a secondary school which has been recognised as a Junior Student Centre. They then proceed to the Training Centre, where they spend the next two years as Senior Students. With this, if they can spare the additional

years, they may combine a pass or honours course at a University. On the satisfactory completion of their course they are provisionally certificated for school service, but their final recognition depends on satisfactory reports being obtained during the two years of their teaching probation in school.

The new system should greatly raise the level of scholarship among teachers. Most of them will go up to the Training Centre at or near the Leaving Certificate stage, that is to say, they will enter on their training better equipped academically than under the old system they were when they finished their course. As far as can be judged at present, the change should in a few years make the school masters and mistresses of Scotland one of the best educated bodies of teachers in the world. If no barriers are placed in the way, and if the pass degree ceases to be discouraged, many of them will graduate, and in this way the old traditional close association of Scottish teachers (including those in primary schools) with the Universities will be maintained.

It has been objected to the new system that the students turned out by it have not the practical teaching skill of those produced by the old system. Such a judgment is premature, as the products of the new system are not yet available in sufficient numbers for demonstration. *A priori* judgments on such a subject are of no value.

Need we look on the new training arrangements as final? Can there not yet be established in our Universities a Faculty of Education as of Law, Medicine,

and Theology? May the Training Centres not become the clinical wards of the profession? Why not have each Scottish teacher a University graduate in pedagogy; whether after two years' study (as in the case of a Bachelor of Law) or after three years of professional study following upon graduation in Arts (as in the case of a Bachelor of Laws or a Bachelor of Divinity)? The teacher of elementary subjects will teach them all the more skilfully if he has the wider outlook and the larger sympathies of one who has shared in the culture of one of our ancient seats of University learning.

Whatever will improve the status of the teachers and the dignity of their profession is to be encouraged. In this way good men will be attracted and the youth of the country will benefit. The public recognition of teachers, even in Scotland, still leaves something to be desired. We have found that in the old days the *rector scholarum* was a citizen of great importance who, in public affairs, often took a worthy place among nobles and distinguished clerics. But the schoolmaster is not so regarded in modern times. Those, for example, who distribute public honours overlook him. Such honours are frequently bestowed on successful business men or leaders of great industries; actors, authors, engineers, scientists, physicians, lawyers, receive occasional State recognition; but who ever heard of a schoolmaster, the maker of men and moulder of citizens, receiving knighthood?

A survey of the present educational position which did not consider, however briefly, the question of administration would be incomplete. Education in Scotland is now controlled by many bodies, appointed in divers ways. Elementary schools are under the charge of School Boards or of Church or other voluntary managers. Secondary Schools are controlled by School Boards or Governors, and to a certain extent by County and Burgh Committees of heterogeneous composition. Training Colleges are managed by Provincial Committees of mixed constitution. The Central Institutions are under Governors appointed by various interested public and private bodies, and the Universities are under the University Courts. Above most of these authorities sits the Education Department, guiding, inspecting, and to a great extent controlling, primary and secondary schools (including endowed schools), training colleges, and central institutions. Only the Universities have escaped so far.

Assuming the good points of the various managing bodies, let us consider some of their defects. For School Boards the areas are in many cases too small to maintain a secondary school, therefore too small to be an educational unit. The cumulative vote, combined with the Parliamentary franchise, makes it possible for any small band of "cranks" to put in one or more of their number. Little power of initiative is left to the Boards—flanked as they are by the regulations of the Department on the one hand, and by the County Committee and its overlapping of their sphere of action on the other. They have to find

locally a larger proportion than was formerly the case of the money spent on schools, and many of them are hag-ridden by dread of the ratepayer.

County and Burgh Committees are bodies which were created by Departmental Minute for the supervision of secondary education and have now had their very large spending powers, connected with both secondary and primary education, confirmed by law. They are non-elective, in the sense that their members are not voted in by the general body of the people, and are therefore irresponsible. The members are drawn from various districts of a county, and each naturally desires to secure for his own area as liberal treatment as possible. Whether the diagonal resulting from the action of so many conflicting forces is always the best line of movement is open to doubt. The Department has one or more assessors in each Committee, and where these are strong men they direct its policy, probably to the advantage of rapid educational progress, but to the detriment of the administrative training of the members.

The Provincial Committees are also non-elective, in the sense given above. They are closely controlled by the Department, which supplies all the funds, and in practice dictates not only general lines of policy, but even such details as the amount of salary to be given to the lecturers and instructors.

Speaking generally, we may say that in the region of Scottish education the Department's power is limited only by the hardheartedness of the British Treasury, and by the naturally slow development in

the country of ideas on matters of advanced educational policy. The permanent staff of the Department consists of an excellent band of devoted officials within the office, and another band, the Inspectors, in the field. The latter are those who come into contact with the public. Through them the Department are kept in close touch with the thought of educational workers, and with the progress, the defects, and the needs of the schools.

In the Memorandum which serves as introduction to the *Selection of Circulars* (1898-1904), published by the Department, there is an excellent statement of the aims that actuated the Department during the period specified. The statement is none the less admirable and coherent that it was drawn up after the event; for national progress can be only partially deliberate. Some of the forward movement must always be in obedience to the driving force of general conceptions that arise often mysteriously, and the strange tenacity of national traditions that show themselves wonderfully persistent amidst the changes of administration and the passing of administrators. That the tentative efforts and occasional inconsistencies of policy shown by the Department have indicated something of this blindness is not to be regarded as entirely a fault; it is a proof that they are in contact with the growth of ideas and are sharing in the national development.

The inspectorate and its grading pre-dates recent changes and can hardly be said to have been brought into conformity with them. In the old days of rigid

individual examination, with much correction of elementary work on paper and scheduling of results, it was appropriate to have a subordinate grade of inspectors whose function was to help in routine work the responsible inspector in charge of a district. But now, with the changed conditions, the need for inspectors of this class has disappeared. The business of the inspector has been gradually becoming differentiated; the expert is needed to take charge of a group of schools and help by sympathetic discussion and kindly counsel to produce efficiency in the general school-work, and the specialist is needed who will examine in Classics or Mathematics or French or Science or Physical Exercises or Housecraft or Drawing. Chief Inspectors, too, are needed with a large outlook, wide sympathies, long experience, and expert knowledge, who will tactfully correlate the educational agencies of a province, speak words of wisdom to retrogressive or halting managers, temper the zeal of over-eager specialists, and generally be ready to supply both the power that drives the wheels and the oil that checks the friction at the bearings.

The need for the Sub-Inspector has gone. The best of them—and many of them are able men—could be promoted to inspectorships. There would be no harm in having smaller and more numerous districts that would find them employment. Any not suited for this responsible work would complete their term of service, but no new appointments of this grade should be made. It is not seemly, as sometimes happens under present conditions, that the schools of teachers

of experience should be inspected by young men who give forth educational platitudes to more or less patient schoolmasters, and write reports, which after transmission through the hands of the responsible inspector and the Department come back to the managers as official and well-considered criticisms and recommendations. The point to be made is that the Education Department can hardly be said to have fully realised yet in this matter the nature of the changes that they themselves have brought about.

No estimate, however, of the inspectorate would be sound, that did not take account of the hearty and intelligent interest taken by the majority of its members in educational questions, their progressive outlook, their enthusiastic sacrifice of time and energy to secure the effective working of the educational system; and this in spite of the fact that the Civil Service effacement of the individual in his Department renders impossible public knowledge or appreciation of their services. Outside the professional ranks of teachers and managers these men who are doing so much to advance the education of the country are hardly known at all. Consequently the recognition to be obtained is that within the Department. This itself is not without risk. The very departmental etiquette that expects a loyal carrying out of the recognised policy of the Department, and which as far as an outsider can judge is observed with remarkable punctiliousness in Scotland (only a very rare inspector becomes garrulous even after superannuation has

removed the official muzzle), must tend to produce an official type of mind, a conformity of opinion, a readiness to accept the departmental *dicta*, and a certain possible impatience with teachers of some individuality who do not respond too readily to changes of educational policy and method.

There has been left to the last, consideration of the strongest educational influence in the country,¹ the power that has originated and driven forward the great progressive movements of recent years—the Permanent Secretary. Scotland has been fortunate in her two Secretaries whose work has been contemporaneous with the forward movement of the last quarter of a century. To Sir Henry Craik's credit stands the organisation of Secondary Education with its system of State inspection, examination, and certification. To him also must be traced the gradual improvements of the Act of 1872.

His successor, Sir John Struthers, the present head of the Department, is busy completing the work of organisation, and welding the whole educational system of our country into one piece of co-ordinated machinery that will include day schools of all kinds, systematically grouped and graded, continuation

¹ Our indebtedness to the successive responsible ministers who, in filling the office of Secretary for Scotland, have had the parliamentary direction of Scottish educational policy, must not be overlooked. These statesmen, of both political parties, have shown a praiseworthy zeal for, and interest in, educational progress, though in their legislative efforts they have been hampered by the fact, an excellent one in itself, that there is no party capital in a Scottish Education Bill, seeing that all Scottish Members, on whatever side of the House they sit, are practically at one on the larger educational questions.

schools, and central institutions of all types, whether technical institutes, training colleges, schools of art, navigation and housecraft, colleges of agriculture and commerce, or the Universities themselves, which have still to take their full place as the crown of the whole educational system. Nor does his work stop there. A reorganised bursary scheme is to bring equality of opportunity to every boy and girl in our land, whether born in a remote Highland glen or in the heart of a city; to conduct them not only to school, and maintain them while there if necessary, and give them, if worthy, a secondary education, but to carry them also to the higher institutions of learning "to continew their studie, sa that the commonwealthe may have some comfort by them." It is Knox's ideal, at last about to be realised.

The Secretary's work, already partially accomplished, is to find a means of combining what was best in the old national tradition with those newer developments, in the choice of studies and in the methods of training, that must be incorporated if our people are to hold their own among the new conditions of modern life. A great part of his task is still before him: to complete the organisation of the educational system and yet secure such freedom to schools, colleges, and Universities as will allow them to develop on original and individual lines; to give sufficient imperial aid and yet not impair local responsibility, local management, and local initiative; to secure a high standard of intellectual attainment, and yet ensure that managers and teachers shall regard the development of character

as their supreme aim; to conserve, or restore where necessary, the old parental belief in the value of education; to maintain for Scotland its humanistic ideal of training, and yet encourage and aid large experiments, conducted over many years, directed towards securing the full educational value of science and various forms of handwork as a means of mental and moral training; to preserve the open road for merit from places the most lowly, and yet to avoid removing children of tender years from the home and its influences; to bring the Universities into closer touch with the schools; and to infuse into the administration of higher education more of a representative and responsible character.

To produce out of separate entities and disjointed fragments a great correlated system, each unit of which is organically connected with the rest, and subserving the good of the whole, and yet free to develop along its own lines of growth; to preserve all that is best in our national tradition, and yet assimilate whatever is of value in the ideas of modern educationists; to maintain the old democratic aim of equal opportunity for ability wherever found, and yet, while giving help, to leave unharmed the national sturdy spirit of hardiness and independence that made Scotsmen of the past *angustam amice pauperiem pati*; these together constitute a task both difficult and delicate, the successful achievement of which may well prove a worthy monument to any man.

Our tale of the centuries is told. Celtic monks and bards, mediæval chancellors and rectors, sixteenth-century preachers and bishops, University regents and professors, parish and burgh schoolmasters, all have borne their part in the great work of Scottish education. There have been times of rapid advance and times of stagnation, of humdrum routine, and again of enlightenment and fertility of ideas.

And through the ages there have run a few simple ideals, held more or less unconsciously by succeeding generations: that education was a thing valuable in itself and its attainment worthy of self-sacrifice, that it was for the whole people and therefore a matter of State concern, both as regarded provision of schools and compulsion on the unwilling, that the higher instruction of the Universities ought to be readily accessible to all classes, that secular and religious instruction were both necessary, and in the schools should be closely associated.

Some of these conceptions are as old as the time of Ninian, others are more modern; but at no time throughout the last four centuries of our history have any of these ideals been lost sight of. They are still at the core of our educational system and affect profoundly its arrangements.

The eminent position the Scottish people and nation have taken in the world is a fit subject of patriotic pride. It is owing, in part at least, to the early diffusion of education throughout all ranks, and to the important place given to religion and education in the national ideal.

It is for the present generation of Scotsmen, who have entered into the labours of those who have gone before, to see to it that this national ideal is maintained and strengthened. The educational torch has been passed down to them through the ages by worthy and earnest hands ; it is for them to trim it and hand it on, with brightening flame, to their children.

AUTHORITIES

The chief authorities that have been consulted and the sources from which material has been obtained are noted below. References not contained in this list have already been given in the footnotes.

History of Scotland

For the general history of Scotland the works of Mr. Andrew Lang and Professor Hume-Brown have been consulted.

For Scottish literature use has been made of the six volumes published to date of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*.

Some illustrative details have been obtained from the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, from the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, and from the publications of the Scottish History Society.

Ailred's and Adamnan's Lives (*Historians of Scotland* Series) have furnished a good part of the material relating to Ninian and Columba.

For the history of the Highlands and Islands Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Gregory's *History of the Western Islands*, and Mr. W. C. Mackenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides*, have been consulted. Some details have also been obtained from the *Senchus Mor*, translated by W. N. Hancock and T. O'Mahony, from the *Chronicum Scotorum*, translated by W. M. Hennessy, and from the *Orkneyinga Saga*, translated by Sir G. W. Dasent.

History of Education

GENERAL.

Compayré's *The History of Pedagogy*, translated by W. H. Payne; Thomas Davidson's *The Education of the Greek People and its Influence on Civilisation*, in the *International Education Series*; and the monographs in the *Great Educators Series*.

SCOTTISH.

The book to which the heaviest debt is owing is Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*. The more it is used the more one is impressed with its permanent value for all who wish to understand the evolution of our Scottish system of schools.

Edgar's *History of Early Scottish Education*.

Dr. Kerr's *Scottish Education*.

Sir Henry Craik's *The State and Education*.

The official publications of the Universities, and the various reports and other publications of the Scotch Education Department, have also been laid under contribution.

The material for Section V, dealing with education in the Highlands and Islands, has been built up from many scattered references; a part of it has been obtained by an investigation of the MS. Minutes, extending over a century, of one of the Hebridean Presbyteries.

For the development of technical education in Scotland in the nineteenth century Prof. A. H. Sexton's *The First Technical College* has been found helpful.

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$a - = 85$

$b++ = 80$

$b+ = 75$

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